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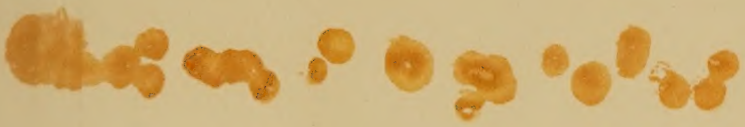

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THE

PUBLICATIONS

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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF THE

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

INVESTIGATED BY

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PREFACE.

The study of place-names is of perennial interest. At the very dawn of English scholarship, we find the Venerable Bede, in his cell at Jarrow, interpreting *Streanæshalch*—the old Anglian name for Whitby—as *sinus fari*, or the bay of the lighthouse ; and throughout the twelve centuries which have elapsed since Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a certain amount of speculation as to the significance of our English place-names has rarely been wanting. The publication of Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* in the year 1864 was, as far as English scholarship is concerned, an all-important event in the history of the subject. Dr. Taylor was empirical in his methods, but he was a true pioneer; above all, he indicated the historical importance of place-name study. With the boldness which is characteristic of the pioneer, he made the world his parish, and advanced with the same buoyant tread to the investigation of the names of the Sahara Desert or the Malay Peninsula as to those of the Thames Valley. Subsequent investigators have, perforce, confined themselves to much more restricted areas, and the tendency at present is to make the county the unit of study. At the same time, the principles of philology have been brought to bear upon the subject; and a true regard for the established laws of sound-change is gradually taking the place of the guesswork methods of an earlier generation. The place-names of several of the English counties have been investigated along these lines, and in this, as in so many other branches of linguistic science, Professor Skeat has led the way.

In the examination of the place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire I have followed, more or less closely, Professor Skeat's methods ; but in one respect this volume makes a new departure. Inasmuch as it appears as one of the publications of a Society whose interests lie in the direction of history rather than of philology, I have taken pains to make the historical bearings of the subject as prominent, and the philological bearings as unobtrusive, as possible. While endeavouring to subject my work, at every step in its progress,

to the tests of phonology, I have eliminated detailed references to the methods by which the final results have been reached. The onesidedness of my course of procedure is most apparent in the Introduction : here the door is closed against philology, and the voice of history alone is heard. I am well aware that for all this I shall incur the reproach of zealous philologists, but I would ask them to bear in mind that, in the space at my disposal, it was impossible for me to serve two masters. Moreover, I am firmly convinced that the chief value of place-name study lies on the side of history, and that our English place-names, when they have been adequately investigated, county by county, will do much to illumine what is still to a large extent obscure—the origins of the English people and the foundations of English society. In attempting to deal with these and other problems, I am well aware that my position is that of a mere tyro, and that I am making incursions into fields of research the length and breadth of which I have most inadequately gauged. My consolation is that, in the progress of science, the errors of explorers are sometimes as stimulating as the truths at which they arrive.

A word of explanation is necessary as to the choice of names in this volume. Earlier investigators have either singled out from some county area such names as interested them, or they have taken as their basis the names which appear on some modern map or gazetteer of the county. The plan which I have adopted is somewhat different ; the names which I have investigated are those which find a place either in Mr. R. H. Skaife's *Domesday Book for Yorkshire* or in the same editor's edition of *Kirkby's Inquest, Knights' Fees and Nomina Villarum for Yorkshire*. I am well aware that in making these two books my basis, I have omitted from my list such interesting names as Harrogate, Mytholmroyd, or Todmorden, which do not find a place in either of these works ; on the other hand, I have provided myself—and my readers—with a large number of early spellings of West Riding names, and have thus made my investigation more sure.

The pleasant duty remains of offering grateful thanks to all those who have aided me in the performance of a task which, if interesting, has also been arduous. It was at the suggestion of Mr. E. Kitson Clark that this work was undertaken, and his active

sympathy has been given to it in all stages of its progress. I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. A. Town for extracting, from the two works which form my basis, the names—together with their early forms—which belong to the West Riding, and for arranging these in proper order; also to Mr. Conrad Gill for his investigation of early forms in some of the volumes of the Rolls Series. Professor Skeat has been most helpful in suggesting to me the proper methods of investigation, and Professor Anwyl, of the University College of Wales, has rendered valuable assistance in regard to those names which seemed to me to contain Celtic elements. But my chief debt of gratitude is due to Professor H. C. Wyld* and Mr. C. J. Battersby, both of whom have carefully revised the proof-sheets of this volume as they have come from the press, and have drawn my attention to errors of statement and thrown light upon problems which baffled my scrutiny. Mr. Battersby's labours on my behalf have, indeed, been unceasing; and, faulty and incomplete as I know this work to be, I gratefully acknowledge that its faults and incompleteness would be still more conspicuous had its pages not undergone his careful and erudite revision.

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* By a curious and pleasant coincidence, Professor Wyld has been investigating the place-names of Lancashire at the same time that I have been engaged upon those of the West Riding of Yorkshire. His volume, published by Messrs. Constable, will appear almost immediately.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

"The most wonderful of all palimpsests is the map of England, could we but decipher it": these are the words of the late Professor Maitland,[1] and it is a very deep sense of their truthfulness which leads me to prefix them to this Introduction. For the volume which the reader holds in his hand is nothing more or less than an attempt, often faltering and often imperfect, to decipher one page of this palimpsest, and thereby to discover a meaning in words the original forms of which have, in the lapse of centuries, grown faint and obscure. The truth of the quotation can, perhaps, best be shown by means of a single illustration. York, the city which has given its name to the shire, was, at the time when British history begins, *Eburacum* or *Eboracum* or *Cair Ebroauc*.[2] What the name means is uncertain,[3] and our immediate concern is with the changes which it has undergone. With the English Conquest of Britain *Eburacum* became *Eoforwic, Eoforwic-ceaster, Eoferwic, Eoferwic-ceaster, Eaforwic, Eferwic* or *Everwic*—all of which forms appear in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Now the change from *Eburacum* to *Eoforwic* is partly in accordance with phonological law, but partly of the nature of popular etymology. For *Eoforwic* had to English ears a definite meaning; it meant 'the lair of the wild-boar': and knowing, as we do, how the English were for the most part content to let the old Romano-Celtic cities which had fallen into their hands lie waste, the question arises whether the proud *civitas* which had sheltered the *legio sexta victrix*, and where one emperor had died and another had been proclaimed, did in very deed become in the sixth and seventh centuries the lair of the wild boar.

But if the progress of English history had been smooth, the name *Eoforwic* would have developed not into York, but into *Everwick*.[4] Once again the foe was at the gate; in the year 867 Ivarr and Halfdan, the Scandinavian Vikings, set up their standard within the walls, and *Eoforwic* became *Ioforvik*.[5] Half a century later *Ioforvik* has been contracted into *Iorvik*[6] (pronounced *Yorwick*),

1. *Archaeological Review*, iv., 235.
2. *Eburacum* is the spelling of Bede, *Eboracum* and *Cair Ebroauc* are the forms which appear in Nennius's *Historia Britonum*. In *Eburacum* and *Eboracum*, the accent was on the third syllable, and the *b* was probably sounded as *v*.
3. The popular derivation of Eburacum from the river Ure is, in its way, as venturesome as Hotspur's demand to have Trent turned; for Eburacum is not on the Ure, but the Ouse. The name is no doubt Celtic, and bears a certain resemblance to certain Gaulish place-names, including *Eboriacus*, now Faremoutiers, in France. The probability is that Eburacum is formed by means of the Celtic suffix *-acum* out of a personal name Eburos or Eburus, which is found in Roman and Greek inscriptions. A Celtic bishop of York called Eburiws or Eborius was present at the Council of Arles in the year 314; see Haverfield, *Early British Christianity* (English Historical Review, xi., 417). The termination *-acum* is frequently met with in Gaulish place-names; cf. *Carnacum*, now Carnac, in Britanny.
4. In exactly the same way that O.E. *Eoforesleah* has become Eversley, or O.E. *Eofordun*, Everdon.
5. This is the spelling in *Arnbiorn's Lay* (circ 960) by the Icelandic poet, Egil. The initial *I* was sounded like *Y*, cf. O.E. *eorl*, O.N. *jarl* (yarl); hence the *Y* sound in York.
6. See *Stretch-Song of King Cnut*, by the courtly poet, Sighvat (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*).

whence, with the dropping of the medial *w*,[1] we get Yorick[2] and finally York. This final form—spelt *ȝeorc* or *ȝorc*—is reached as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it is recorded by the Middle English poet, Layamon, in his *Brut*. Layamon, who loved not the Dane, found something peculiarly offensive in the form York (*ȝeorc*, *ȝorc*). After deriving "*Kaer Ebrauc*" from the mythical King Ebrauc, he goes on to say: "Then came stranger men and called it Eoverwic, and the northern men—it is not long of yore—in their barbarity—*thurh ane unthewe*—called it ȝeorc."[3] But the progress from Eoforwic, through Ioforvik and Iorvik, to York was by no means so smooth as the above record seems to show. For centuries there waged a fierce struggle for mastery between the English form *Eoforwic* or *Everwic* and the Scandinavian form *Iorvik* or *York*. In Domesday Book (1086) and in the *Pipe Rolls* of the reign of Henry II., York appears throughout as *Everwich* or *Eurwic*, and Yorkshire as *Everwichscir* or *Eurvicscyre*; Layamon, not liking Danish barbarisms, always refers to it as *Eouerwike* or *Euerwic*, while *Euerwik*, *Euerwyc*, *Euerwyk* and *Euerwic* are the spellings of the name in the metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (fl. 1260-1300). But by the fourteenth century the struggle seems to have been over, and the victory rested with the Dane. Chaucer was "barbarous" enough to use the form York,[4] and what was good enough for the "well of English undefyled" has been good enough for those who have come after him. But, in conclusion, let us notice how admirably the name illustrates the force of Maitland's words. Eburacum—Cair Eborauc—Eoforwic—Ioforvik—York: here, indeed, is a palimpsest, overwritten by the hands of many men, speaking many tongues; and at the same time the name, when all its changeful history has been recorded, stands before us as an ever-during symbol of the play of the great national forces which, in the revolution of the years, and through the agencies of peace and war, have built up the England that we know to-day.

I.—METHODS OF INVESTIGATION.

Before proceeding to a detailed study of the points of historic interest associated with West Riding place-names, a word is necessary as to the methods of investigation and arrangement adopted in the body of this work. An element of conjecture necessarily enters into the study of place-names, partly on account of the difficulty of tracing the development of such names over a sufficiently lengthy period of time, and partly because what is known as 'popular etymology'—that is, the assimilation of the unfamiliar to the

1. Cf. the loss of the *w* in the pronunciation of Greenwich, Alnwick, etc.
2. "Alas! poor Yorick"—one of the many instances of a more primitive form of a place-name surviving as a personal name.
3. Layamon's *Brut*, ed. Madden *vv.* 2666-2673.
4. Lordynges, ther is in Yorkshire, as I gesse,
A merssby contree called Holdernesse.—(*Summoner's Tale*, verses 1-2).

familiar—can at any time enter as a disturbing element into the development of any name. The study of Yorkshire place-names, as compared with those of one of the southern or midland counties, presents special difficulties to the investigator, owing to the great dearth of Old English charters furnishing us with the forms of Yorkshire place-names before the Norman Conquest. England, as the great collections of Kemble[1] and Birch[2] show, is exceedingly rich in Old English charters; but very few of these refer to Yorkshire, or contain any record of Yorkshire place-names. The practical starting-point of our investigation is, accordingly, Domesday Book (1086), and though there is rarely a dearth of thirteenth and fourteenth century spellings of West Riding names, these cannot compensate us for the loss of pre-Conquest forms. As a consequence, the interpretation of a name offered in this volume can by no means always be looked upon as beyond dispute. The words 'probable' and 'possible,' as applied to the meaning of any given name, will be found plentifully strewn through the ensuing pages; and where these words occur, the reader is earnestly warned against regarding the etymology as in any way certain.

The first requirement for place-name study is the establishment of what has been well called the 'pedigree' of any given name. In other words, the investigator must first of all proceed to collect, from published or unpublished records of as early a date as possible, the forms of the names he is studying. In the present work many more forms than those which appear have, in the case of most of the names, been collected; and from these a selection has been made with a view to determine the lines along which the development of the name has taken place. In the main, the pedigree is in accordance with chronological order, but occasionally it happens that a later spelling is more primitive than an earlier one, and, where such is the case, the later spelling has been placed first. The tabulated list of the early spellings of the place-names dealt with in this book is therefore intended to furnish the reader with some idea of the course of development which these names have taken, and of the sound-changes which they have undergone.

2.—WHAT IS A PLACE-NAME?

The word place-name is used in this book to denote the name of an inhabited town, village, hamlet, or farmstead, as distinguished, on the one hand, from regional names—*e.g.*, Hallamshire, Elmet, Craven,—and, on the other hand, from names of rivers, mountains, etc.,—*e.g.*, Wharfe, Aire, Ingleborough. But it would be a mistake to suppose that all the places on our list were, when the name was first bestowed upon them, the sites of human dwellings.

1. *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 volumes.
2. *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 volumes.

Many of them were almost certainly mere field-names or names of landmarks. Let us for a moment consider, in illustration of this statement, the name Bradford. Bradford is now a city with a population of nearly a quarter of a million; but it is by no means certain that when it received its name—the broad ford—there was a single house there. Like Aberford, Woodlesford, Milford, Garforth, Horsforth, etc., it is a landmark-name, denoting the spot where a stream, together with the swampy land adjoining it, was crossed by a ford. It is probable that the name Bradford was bestowed, at a time when bridges were little known, upon scores of fords in all parts of England. Many of these Bradfords doubtless remain to this day obscure landmark-names, known only to the farmers who make use of them; but others have become the sites of hamlets, villages, or towns, and one of them has become an imperial city. Again, Kippax—the ash-tree on the hill,—Rothwell—the red stream or well of water,—Askwith—the ash wood,—Sherburn—the clear stream,—and Hillam—on the hills,—are, similarly, landmark-names and do not necessarily imply human habitation at the time when the names were first bestowed. In course of time villages have come into existence in each of these places, and these villages have taken over the landmark-names, and have retained them to this day.

The number of place-names on our list which may be described as landmark-names is fairly large and includes all names ending in the terminations *-bergh*, *-brook*, *-burn*, *-cliff*, *-cross*, *-den*, *-dale*, *-don*, *-fleet*, *-ford*, *-gill*, *-grave* or *-grove*, *-ness*, *-stone*, *-thorn*, *-well*, *-with*, *-wood*, together with such names as Hillam, Snaith, Pontefract. Many of these names are merely descriptive and topographical, but some of them contain personal names, *e.g.*, Tockwith—the wood of a man called Toki,—or Aberford—the ford of a lady called Eadburh.

Secondly, there is a large class of names which may be described as field-names. These tell of the clearing of forest or brake, the cultivation of the land, and its enclosure by wall or ditch or hedge. But here again there is nothing to show that, at the time when the names were bestowed, the building and occupation of houses in these places had necessarily begun; they are mere field-names. Here will belong all place-names ending in *-acre*, *-croft*, *-ley*, *-field*, *-hay*, *-hope*, *-land*, *-ley*, and *-thwaite*. Here, too, will belong most, but not all, of the names ending in *-hall* or *-all* (see page xxxix.), and some of the names ending in *-ham*, *-ton*, and *-worth* (see pages xxxix.–xlvii.). Some of these names are topographical, while others incorporate the name of the person who cleared the brake, enclosed the land, or tilled the field.

Our third class will comprise those names which definitely imply human occupation and the building of farmsteads, manor houses, hamlets, or fortresses. These are the place-names proper, and included among them are those which end in *-borough* or *-bury*, *-by*, *-caster*, *-cotes*, *-house* or *-houses*, *-set*, *-thorpe*, *-toft*, and *-wick*; here, too, will belong such *-ham*, *-ton*, and *-worth* names as are not

included under field-names, together with most of the names ending in *-ing,—e.g.*, Cowling, Bowling.

Lastly, there are one or two names in the Riding which were originally regional names, but which in the course of time have come to be the names of towns and villages. To this class belong Leeds, the village of Morthen, near Sheffield, and possibly Ripon.

3.—THE WEST RIDING IN THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD.

The place-names of the West Riding, like those in most other parts of England, throw comparatively little light upon the history of the district in the Romano-British period. The Riding probably formed part of the great Brigantian kingdom, or confederation of kingdoms, over which, in the first century of the Christian era, ruled the famous queen, Cartismandua. Several Romano-British towns lay within its territory, among the chief of which were Isurium, or Aldborough; Danum, or Doncaster; Calcaria, or Tadcaster; Cambodunum—generally identified with Slack, near Huddersfield; and Olicana, or Ilkley. Roman roads, which in many cases probably followed the lines of the more primitive British tracks, crossed the Riding from south to north and from east to west, and archaeological discoveries in many places bear witness to the progress of the inhabitants in the arts of war and peace. Here, as in other parts of the country, the Roman occupation has left its mark upon certain names which are partly formed out of the Old English derivatives from the Latin *castrum*, *castra*, a camp, fortified enclosure, and *strata via*, a paved road, a street. The former of these, which appeared in O.E. as *ceaster* or *cæstir*, is preserved in Acaster, Doncaster, Tadcaster, and Castleford, the O.E. form of which was *Cæstirford*. The latter—*strata via*—which in O.E. was *strét*, appears in Adwick-le-Street, Sturton (Grange), near Aberford, and Stirton in the parish of Skipton. The *strata via* in the case of the first two of these names is the Roman road which ran from Lincoln through Doncaster and Tadcaster to York; in Stirton it is the *strét* which ran from Ribchester in Lancashire to Ilkley and Aldborough.

The fortune of Romano-Celtic place-names in the West Riding has been similar to that of those in other parts of the country. Some of these names have disappeared entirely. Such is apparently the case with the Cambodunum mentioned in Antonine's *Itinerary*, and in Bede; while, for the Isurium or Isourion of Ptolemy's *Geography* and Antonine's *Itinerary*, the Old English settlers substituted the native name, *seo burh*, the fortified place, or *seo alde burh*, the old fortified place, which has become the modern Aldborough. The name Calcaria was preserved as *Kælkacæstir* as late as the time of Bede, but in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it appears, in an entry of the year 1066, as *Tada*, which, with the addition of the word 'caster,' gives us Tadcaster.

On the other hand, the name Danum is preserved in the *Danecastre* of the twelfth century *Pipe Rolls*, and the modern Doncaster. In Olicana, the termination has been lost, and the familiar O.E. *léah*, a lea, has taken its place ; but the first part of the name—*Olic*, —undergoing the same sound-changes as affect native words, has passed through the forms *Ylic*, *Ylc*, and *Ilc*, giving us the modern Ilkley.

But the names already considered can represent only a very small proportion of the named and inhabited places which, in the form of British towns and villages, or of Roman stations, must have existed in the West Riding in Romano-British times. What has happened to all the remaining names ? The question is a difficult one, and with it is bound up the still larger question, What was the fortune of the Celtic population of the Riding at the hands of the English invaders in the sixth and seventh centuries ? Local nomenclature, of itself, can give only a faltering answer to this question, but, inasmuch as the subject is one of great historical importance, it is worth our while to sift carefully the evidence furnished by philological inquiry. The majority of the place-names in the Riding, as will be seen more exactly later, are English or Danish ; and it is probable that, where English farmsteads or villages arose on the sites of British villages, the original Celtic name has in most cases vanished, and an English one has been substituted for it. If this happened in the case of important place-names like Isurium and Calcaria, it was also likely to happen to the names of obscure villages and hamlets. In some instances, however, it is probable that the British name did not altogether disappear, but, in accordance with what is known as popular etymology, became assimilated to familiar Old English forms. We have already seen that this was the case with York, where the Romano-Celtic *Eburacum* becomes the Old English *Eoforwic*, in which the constituent elements are O.E. *eofor*, a wild boar, and O.E. *wic*, a camp, dwelling-place. In like manner, the Celtic *Glevum* became O.E. *Gleaweceaster*, *i.e.*, the camp of the wise men (O.E. *gléawe*).

It is impossible to say how far this assimilation of Celtic to English forms went, for we can only detect it in the case of names the British forms of which are recoverable ; but it is a factor which needs to be taken into account in the study of English place-names. And such a name as Ilkley indicates clearly enough that place-names which have an altogether Teutonic appearance may sometimes be of Celtic origin. Popular etymology has also had something to do with the name Leeds. This appears as *Loidis* in Bede, and was the name, not of a town or village, but of a district—*in regione quæ vocatur Loidis* (ii., 14), *in regione Loidis* (iii., 24). But early in the O.E. period the unfamiliar *Loidis* becomes assimilated to the familiar O.E. *Leodes*, which is the genitive singular of the poetic word *léod*, a man, prince, ruler ; and it is from this form, *Leodes*, that the modern Leeds is derived.

A large proportion of the names in the West Riding, as in other parts of England, are constructed out of personal names with the addition of the endings *-ham*, *-ton*, *-ley*, etc. The majority of these personal names are of English or Danish origin, but a few are probably Celtic. Thus Camblesford owes its name to a certain Cameleac, a name which appears as that of a tenth century bishop of Llandaff[1] and is presumably of Celtic origin. Dewsbury, again, may be the *burh* of the Welshman Dewi, *i.e.*, David, and it is possible that a Celtic personal name is concealed in Dacre (*q.v.*).

A good deal of discussion has from time to time arisen as to the significance of the English place-names Eccles, Eccleston, Ecclesfield, Eccleshill, etc. Such names are of frequent occurrence in all parts of England, and are represented in the West Riding of Yorkshire by Ecclesall, Eccleshill and Ecclesfield. In the Old English charters similar formations are commonly met with; for instance, mention is made of an *Eclesbeorh*, *Ecelesbeorh* or *Æcelesbeorh* in Berkshire, of an *Eclesbroc* or *Ecclesbroc* in Worcestershire, of an *Ecclesford* in Middlesex, of *Eccleshale*, now Exhall, in Warwickshire.[2]

To the student of local nomenclature it would seem at first sight as if these names signified the hill, brook, ford, or enclosure of a man called Ecel, Eccel or Æcel; and, bearing in mind the modern dialect word *eckle*,[3] meaning a green woodpecker, he might assume that O.E. Ecel, Eccel or Æcel was a nickname, bestowed upon some early English settlers in the same way that other bird and beast and fish names were bestowed. But this interpretation of the place-names compounded with Eccles is open to two objections. First, in spite of the fact that these Eccles compounds are frequently met with in all parts of England and in the Lowlands of Scotland, the personal name Ecel or Æcel is not recorded by Searle in his very full collection of Old English personal names, entitled *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. Secondly, such an interpretation fails to explain the place-name Eccles—without the additional *-ton*, *-ford*, etc. There is an Eccles in Lancashire, another in Kent, a third in Norfolk, a fourth in Dumfries, and a fifth in Berwickshire, and the Domesday Book spelling of the name is also Eccles. Now, much may be said on behalf of the theory that the name Eccles is derived from the Latin—originally Greek—word *ecclesia*, a church, and indicates that all place-names in which the theme Eccles occurs, either alone or in combination with *-ton*, *-ford*, etc., mark the sites of Romano-Celtic churches in England and Scotland. The Latin word *ecclesia* was introduced into many of the Celtic dialects of Britain, and has left its mark upon the local nomenclature. We trace it as *eglos* in the Cornish Egloshayle and Egloskerry, as *eglwys* in the Welsh Eglwysfair and Eglwys Cymmin, while the Gaelic form of the word was *eaglais*. If we derive the English Eccles from one or other of these Celtic forms of the Latin word *ecclesia*, we must assume that the medial *g* became unvoiced to *c*; but it is also possible that there was yet another

1. See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 918.
2. See the Index to the sixth volume of Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*.
3. See Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*.

Celtic form of the word *ecclesia*, in which the Latin *c* was kept unchanged.

Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of the derivation of Eccles from *ecclesia* is to be found in the fact that the county of Dumfries has not only an Eccles, but also an Ecclefechan—famous to all time as the birthplace of Carlyle. Now *Fechan* is obviously Celtic in origin; it may be from the name of the Irish saint Fechin, or it may be the Celtic adjective *fechan*, little, preserved in the Welsh Llanfairfechan. The natural interpretation, therefore, of the name Ecclefechan is 'the little church' or 'the church of St. Fechin.' And, if this be granted, little further difficulty is encountered in interpreting the place-name Eccles as 'the church,' Eccleston as 'the church enclosure,' Ecclesfield as 'the church field,' and Eccleshill as 'the church hill.' Here, then, we have a case of the survival of a Celtic word in a large number of English place-names, and the survival of the word implies also the survival of the thing for which the word stands. The Celtic word derived from the Latin *ecclesia* never entered into the Old English language; but, surviving in place-names, it entered into composition with the English words *-tun*, *-ford*, *-feld*, etc., to form the combinations *Ecclestun*, *Ecclesford*, *Ecclesfeld*. And these hybrid compounds illuminate for us the story of early Christianity in England.

Dr. Haverfield has adduced valuable evidence to show that "the church which existed in fourth century Britain continued without change or interruption into the following centuries,"[1] and to this evidence may be added that furnished by the place-name Eccles and its compounds. These place-names show that the conquering Englishman did not invariably destroy the Celtic churches, but recognised and gave his sanction to their existence; and when he enclosed a field, or built a ford, near one of these *eccles*, he called it *Ecclestun*, *Ecclesfeld*, or *Ecclesford*. It is improbable that he showed any willingness to accept the faith of the conquered race; but, so far from carrying on a war of extermination upon the British, he allowed some of them at least to remain in their former haunts and to practise their religion without molestation.

Another place-name in the West Riding area which tells against the theory of extermination is Walton, near Wetherby. The Domesday Book spelling of this name is *Waleton*, from which we may infer that the Yorkshire Walton, like Walworth in Surrey,[2] goes back to O.E. *Walatun* or *Wealatun*, and means, not 'the enclosure by the wall,' but 'the enclosure of the Welsh (O.E. *Wealas*, genitive *Weala*).' In other words, Walton in the West Riding marks the spot where a number of Britons were allowed to remain after the district had been conquered by the English. It is probable that their existence was that of slaves, for the O.E. word *wealh*, a Welshman, is frequently found in O.E. literature as a synonym for *théow*, a slave; but, whether as freemen or slaves, they were permitted to spend their days in the territory which was once theirs.

1. *English Historical Review*, xi., p. 430. 2. O.E. *Wealawyrth* (See Kemble's Index).

One of the most interesting names in the West Riding is Almondbury. The modern form seems to point back to the O.E. *Alhmundesburh, i.e.*, the fortified place of an Englishman called Alhmund. But a study of the early spellings of the name shows that the forms with medial *d* (*Almandbury, Almondbury*), are all late, and that the most primitive spellings are *Alemanebiri* and *Almaneberie*. Now these two forms point back to an original O.E. *Alemannabyrig, i.e.*, the fortified place of the Alemanni. Is there, then, any reason for supposing that the famous south German tribe of the Alemanni had some connection with Yorkshire? Historians are altogether silent as to its share in the English conquest of Britain, and the fact that that conquest was effected, not by south German, but by north German tribes, is against such an assumption. But there is evidence that there were Alemanni in Britain under the period of Roman rule. The Greek historian Zosimus informs us in his *Historiæ Novæ* that the emperor Probus gained, in the year 277, a victory over certain sections of the great Alemannic tribe, and that "such as he could secure alive, he sent into Britain, who, when settled in that island, were serviceable to the emperor as often as anyone thenceforward revolted."[1] We are not told to what part of Britain these Alemanni were sent, but we learn something more about them from another historian. Aurelius Victor, describing in the fourth book of his *Epitome* the death of the emperor Constantius at York, in the year 310, and the succession of Constantine, says that amongst those who were present at York on this occasion and used their influence to persuade Constantine to assume the imperial power was a certain Erocus, who is described as the king of the Alemanni—*Eroco, Alamannorum rege*. From this we may infer that there was somewhere in Britain, in the third and fourth centuries, a little kingdom or principality of deported Alemanni, and the fact that their king Erocus was at York at the time of the death of Constantius is some indication that his kingdom was not very far removed from that city. When, therefore, we find the name Almondbury spelt *Alemanebiri* in early Middle English times, which points back to an O.E. form *Alemannabyrig*—the fortified place of the Alemanni—we have some reasons for assuming that the little kingdom of the Alemanni in Britain, of which Zosimus and Aurelius Victor make mention, was situated in and around the town of Almondbury, near Huddersfield.

Before bringing this section to a close, it will be well to ask the question, Where and what was the so-called kingdom of Elmet? This kingdom figures largely in the accounts which modern writers have given us of early Northumbrian history, and it is necessary to weigh carefully the evidence which is at our disposal. It is highly probable, but not quite certain, that this kingdom of Elmet is identical with the *regio Loidis*, or region of Leeds, of which Bede tells in his *Ecclesiastical History;* and the statement of Bede that Loidis was the name of a region or district receives some support

1. See Petrie and Sharpe, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. lxxv., and cf. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, p. 283.

from the fact that the name Loidis seems to be incorporated in Ledsham, Ledstone, and possibly Lead Hall, which are the names of places a few miles east of Leeds and in close proximity to Barwick-in-Elmet and Sherburn-in-Elmet. Bede does not speak of Elmet as a regional name, but as the name of a wood—*silva Elmete*; but in the *Historia Britonum*, ascribed to the eighth century historian Nennius, we hear of Elmet as a *territoriolum agri prope Leodes*.[1] Names like Barwick-in-Elmet and Sherburn-in-Elmet, together with the reference to the *Elmed-sætna*, or dwellers in Elmet, in an Old English document preserved in the British Museum, make it clear that Elmet, like Loidis, is a regional name; and, as stated above, the probability is that Loidis and Elmet are two names for the same piece of territory. What, then, was the extent of this territory? J. R. Green expressed the view that it extended from the Peak of Derbyshire in the south to the forest of Knaresborough in the north, and from the Roman road which ran from Doncaster to Tadcaster and York on the east to the Pennines on the west.[2] Dr. Hodgkin makes a more modest estimate of its extent and states that it probably included "at any rate the upper part of the valleys of the Wharfe, Aire, and Calder."[3] But the evidence at hand seems to indicate that even this estimate is too generous. A study of West Riding place-names shows that the villages which incorporate either the name Elmet—Barwick-in-Elmet, Sherburn-in-Elmet, Saxton-in-Elmet,—or the name Loidis—Leeds, Ledsham, Ledstone, Lead Hall, —all lie very near together in the district which is bounded by Leeds to the west and by Sherburn-in-Elmet—twelve miles from Leeds—to the east; while from Barwick-in-Elmet in the north to Ledstone in the south, the distance is only seven miles. When we pass beyond this circumscribed area, there is no record at all of the names Elmet or Loidis. Moreover, the district of the *Elmed-sætna*, in the Old English record already referred to, is declared to consist of 600 hides. Now the hide was the usual holding of an English freeholding family, and generally amounted to about 120 acres, giving us an estimate of 72,000 acres as the extent of the kingdom of Elmet. In the same record 600 hides is given as the area of the Isle of Wight, and inasmuch as we have no sufficient reason for supposing that the Isle of Wight, which consists of 94,000 acres, was more highly cultivated than the kingdom of Elmet, we are probably not wide of the mark in concluding that the latter was of about the same size as, or perhaps a little smaller than, the former, and that the territory which it covered was the rising ground north of the Aire, and between Leeds in the west and Ferrybridge or Knottingley in the east.

Having attempted to ascertain where the kingdom of Elmet lay, we may proceed to consider the more difficult question, What was this kingdom? Historians have been unanimous in regarding it as a British kingdom which resisted the attacks of the Anglian settlers until the year 627, when Edwin, the all-victorious

1. *Historia Britonum*, ed. Gale, cap. lxv. 2. *Making of England*, cap. vi.
3. *Political History of England*, vol. i., p. 131.

Northumbrian king, conquered and expelled Cerdic, king of Elmet, and added his territory to his own. It is very possible that this conception of Elmet as a British kingdom is correct, but it is, nevertheless, open to a certain amount of criticism. Bede and Nennius inform us that the King of Elmet who was expelled by Edwin was called Cerdic, or Certic. Bede refers to him as *rege Brittonum Cerdice* (*Hist. Eccles.* iv., 23), and Nennius's words are as follows: Eoguin filius Alli.....occupavit Elmet, et expulit Certic, regem illius regionis (*Hist. Brit.* cap. 63). There can, therefore, be no doubt that Cerdic was the ruler over a British people; what is not so certain is that he was himself a Briton. In the entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 508, 519, 534, Cerdic is referred to as the name of the founder of the kingdom of Wessex, who also gave his name to *Cerdicesora, Cerdicesford* and *Cerdicesleah*, and on his death, in the year 534, left his newly-founded kingdom to his son Cynric. These entries, which were made at a much later date than that of the events referred to, have rightly been subjected to a good deal of criticism, and the view has been expressed that the name Cerdic is merely an Anglicised form of the Welsh name Caratacus or Coroticus, and that the Cerdic whom the West Saxons of a later date looked back upon as their first king, was in reality a Briton.[1] It is hard to believe that King Alfred and his successors should have committed the error of tracing their descent from a British king, but there are not sufficient data at hand to investigate the matter more closely.

Another story, hailing this time from Nennius,[2] is that when Hengest and Horsa landed in Kent and had their first interview with Vortigern, the man who acted as interpreter between the British king and the Jutish princes was called Cerdic-elmet, *i.e.*, Cerdic, king of Elmet, a probable ancestor of the Cerdic, who was expelled by Edwin. The fact that a British king of the fifth century should be able to understand the Low German of Hengest and Horsa is somewhat strange, and once again doubts arise in one's mind whether the kings of Elmet were really Britons.

Lastly, we must take account of the name Elmet or Elmed. It may be that this name is Celtic in origin, but there is no doubt that it has a Teutonic sound, and is surprisingly like the Frisian word *elmétha*,[3] meaning a rural district, township, parish. Here, then, we have three points to consider. The king of Elmet bears the same name as that of the legendary founder of the Teutonic kingdom of Wessex, and he ruled over a district which has a seemingly Frisian name. Moreover, at the time of the first landing of the English on these shores, an earlier Cerdic, king of Elmet, had acted as interpreter between the British and the English. These three facts, although very far from conclusive in character, do, nevertheless, cast some doubt upon the view that Cerdic was a British king and Elmet a purely British kingdom. Is it possible

1. See Professor Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 224, 225.
2. *Op. cit.*, cap. xxxvi.
3. See Richthofen's *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch* for the word *elmétha*, which is regarded as a variant of *elmente*, and as cognate to the Suabian *almeinde, almend*, (=*communio, compascua, via publica*).

that at some remote period a band of Frisian warriors, sailing up the Humber and the Aire, obtained by conquest or otherwise the old British Kingdom of Loidis, and converted it into a Frisian *elmétha* or Elmet, wherein the king and his nobles were of Low German origin, and continued to speak their Low German tongue, while the people of inferior rank were Britons ?

4.—THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST RIDING.

Having considered what traces can be found in West-Riding place-names of the Romano-Celtic occupation of the territory, we are now free to turn our thoughts to English Yorkshire and to see what information can be gained from place-names as to the Anglian settlement and Anglian civilisation. Historians tell us very little concerning the conquest of Northumbria by the tribesmen of northern Germany. Our chief authority is Bede, and Bede's account of Northumbrian history scarcely begins until we reach the reign of Edwin (617-633). In the sixth century Northumbria was divided into two kingdoms: (1) Bernicia, which probably included the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland, and (2) Deira, which included most, though not all, of the county of York. History is silent concerning the overthrow of the Britons in Deira, and place-names have little to disclose. Slaidburn, which means 'the stream of slaughter,' and Huddersfield, which can mean 'the battle-field of the plundering army,' may mark the sites where pitched battles between the contending races took place; but there is no definite knowledge, and the battles may have been fought at some later date, between combatants of the same race. Nor can the West Riding place-names be relied upon to furnish us with precise information as to the continental home of the Yorkshireman. Bede informs us that the Angles, reinforced perhaps by neighbouring tribes, came from the district of Angel in what is now the German province of Schleswig-Holstein. King Alfred repeats this statement in his account of the voyage of Ohthere introduced into his translation of Orosius's *History of the World*,[1] and most modern historians are disposed to agree with Bede and Alfred. The province of Angel, which faces the Baltic and lies between the Flensburg Fiord to the north and Schleswig Fiord to the south, is at the present time a thickly populated agrarian district; and, if this was the original home of the Anglian conquerors of England, it seems at first reasonable to expect that the place-names of the district should bear a likeness to those of Anglian England. Bede, however, informs us that the whole population of Angel migrated to England and that Angel remained a waste land even to his day; and the fact that at the present time most of the place-names of Angel are of Danish origin supports the view that the Angles left in a body, and that the region was at some later period colonised by the Danes.

1. Ed. Sweet (Early English Text Society), vol. lxxix., p. 19.

But even if such were not the case, and if correspondences between English place-names and those of Angel were easy to trace, it would be very unsafe to draw inferences from such correspondences. For all the tribes of northern Germany were closely akin to each other, and named the places where they settled according to the same principles. We must be content, therefore, to leave the whole story of the Anglian Conquest of Yorkshire as it stands, and direct our attention to the social and economic history of the West Riding at the time when the war of conquest was over, and the victors were peacefully settled in their new home.

A study of the place-names investigated in this volume will show that about two-thirds of the names in the West Riding are wholly or partly of English origin, while a comparison with the names of the other two Ridings discloses the fact that in them, owing to the greater prevalence of Scandinavian settlements, the proportion of English names is considerably less. It is also apparent that the English conquerors penetrated into all parts of the West Riding. The hill country, then as now, was sparsely peopled; but purely English names like Sedbergh, Buckden, Hebden, Appletreewick, Saddleworth, and Bradfield, all of which are found in the more elevated parts of the Riding, show that the English established their settlements in the hills as well as in the valleys and the plains.

The Anglian settlement of Yorkshire was probably effected on a more or less permanent basis, and our first duty is to consider the nature of this basis. And here we are at once confronted with the two great conflicting theories of English rural economy, advanced by historians in the nineteenth century. The one is "the mark-theory;" the other, "the manor-theory." The former, as far at least as the condition of things in England is concerned, is the theory of J. M. Kemble. In his work, *The Saxons in England*, published in 1849, he endeavoured to show that the English settlement of Britain was effected by "communities of families or households." Laying stress on the prevalence in all parts of England of place-names containing—either alone, or in combination with *-ham*, *-ton*, *-ley*, etc.—the suffix *-ing*, *e.g.*, Reading, Tooting, Billingham, Headingley, he proceeded to divide Anglo-Saxon England into *marks*, which he defined as "plots of land on which a greater or less number of free men have settled for purposes of cultivation, and for the sake of mutual profit and protection."[1] The 'mark' was the property of the community; it belonged to the freemen as a whole, and consisted partly of arable land and partly of pasture. In other words, Kemble endeavoured to show that the twin foundations of English society are individual freedom and communal ownership of the land. His theory was accepted by Stubbs and J. R. Green, but in 1883 it was subjected to searching criticism by the publication of Dr. Frederic Seebohm's *The English Village Community*, the aim of which was to show that the unit of rural economy in Anglo-Saxon England was not the *mark* but the *manor*. In opposition to Kemble's division of England into free

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

village communities, he partitioned the country into manors, and defined a manor as "the estate of a lord or thane with a village community generally in serfdom upon it."[1] These manors, he contended, consisted partly of "land in demesne," *i.e.*, the home farm attached to the manor house, and partly of "land in villenage," *i.e.*, open, unenclosed fields lying round about the home farm, and divided up into scattered acre or half-acre strips which were farmed by the "tenants in villenage," at the will of the manorial lord, to whom certain feudal services were rendered by the villain in return for the strip-holdings which he received. The lord of the manor was known as the *thegen* (thane) or *hláford* (lord), and the land in demesne was the *thegenes inland*. The general name for the villain was the *genéat*, while the land in villenage was known as *genéat-land*, *gesetles-land* or *gafol-land*. Dr. Seebohm also recognised different grades of *genéatas* or villains. The villain proper, the holder of yard-lands, was the *gebúr*, while below him were the *cotsetlan* or cottiers, possessed of smaller holdings. Still lower in the social order were the *théowas* or slaves.

It will at once be seen that the manor-theory of Seebohm is diametrically opposed to the mark-theory of Kemble. Kemble's twin foundations of individual freedom and communal ownership of the land are removed, and in their place are substituted the principles of serfdom and feudal tenure. Nor will Seebohm recognise the possibility of a gradual transition from the one state to the other. "There seems," he says, "no room for the theory that the Saxons introduced everywhere free village communities on the system of the German 'mark,' which afterwards sank into serfdom under manorial lords."[2]

The weight of evidence brought forward by Seebohm in support of his manor-theory went far to demolish the views advanced by Kemble, and the manor-theory won attention and respect from economic historians. But in recent years a feeling has been gaining ground that the serfdom theory is too far-reaching, and that the attempt to reduce the whole of the settlement of England to one definite standard is open to serious criticism. It is contended that various forms of land-tenure may have been in force when the settlement of the country was effected, and that what is true of Kent is not necessarily true of Yorkshire. Moreover, while Seebohm's theory, at least in its main outlines, is generally accepted as true for the later stages of Old English history leading up to the Norman Conquest and the compilation of Domesday Book, historians are coming to question its truth for the earlier period at which the settlement took place; in other words, the idea of a gradual transition from freedom to serfdom, which Seebohm found no room for, is now gathering weight. The most distinguished supporter of this view in England is Professor Vinogradoff. In his recent work, *The Growth of the Manor* (1905), he declares that at the time of the settlement the majority of the settlers were free husbandmen or *ceorlas*, and that "the manorial system arrives at the end of the Old

1. *English Village Community*, p. 459. 2. *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

English period, mainly in consequence of the subjection of a labouring population of free descent to a military and capitalistic class."[1]

It is reasonable to expect that some light can be thrown upon this great question of the origin of English social and economic history by the study of the place-names of any given area. Both Kemble and Seebohm, in advancing their respective theories, laid considerable weight upon the evidence furnished by place-names; and, more recently, Mr. J. H. Round has drawn attention to the importance of this great field of investigation in interpreting the history of the settlement of England. It has long been recognised, by philologists and historians alike, that Kemble's theory with regard to English place-names containing the suffix *-ing*, either alone, or in combination with *-ham*, *-ton*, *-ley*, etc., is to a large extent untenable.[2] But, although Kemble brought forward these '*-ing* names' as the foundation upon which his 'mark' or clan theory of the settlement of England by free village communities mainly rested, it does not necessarily follow that, because Billingham need not mean the home of the Billing clan, the theory of the settlement of large portions of England by free tribesmen or *ceorlas* is disproved. The theory may rest on other and surer foundations.

Turning, in the next place, to the manor-theory of Seebohm, we have a right to expect that, if the highly elaborate system of feudal tenure which that theory implies was generally in force at the time of the settlement, some vestiges of it will be imprinted upon the local nomenclature of the manors which the English settlers established in conquered Britain. In other words, we shall expect to find such words as *hláfordes-tún, thegenes-inland, genéat-land, gesettes-land, gafol-land, gebúrland, cotsetlan-land* or *cotsetlan-tún* of frequent occurrence in Old English land-charters; nor is it too much to ask that some of these names shall persist to this day in place-names or field-names. But of all these terms there is scarcely a trace in the great collections of Old English charters edited by Kemble and Birch. In the Index to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* more than thirteen thousand place-names, field-names, or landmark-names are recorded, but not one of them assumes any of the forms indicated above. Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* is almost equally silent as to such names,[3] though once we find mention made of a *gafol-land* (B.C.S., 208, anno 772), and once of *tha landgemæro thæs geburlandes to Abbendune* (B.C.S., 1002). This almost complete silence on the part of the Old English land-charters as to the peculiar terms of land-tenure which enter so deeply into Seebohm's manorial theory must, I think, be held to furnish strong evidence that the manorial system does not date from the settlement, but has taken the place of something else. The evidence, it is true, is wholly of a negative character, but it is not the less valuable on that account.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 235. The same view finds wide support among German scholars; see, in particular, K. T. von Inama-Sternegg's article, *Wirtschaft*, and Karl von Amira's article, *Recht*, in the second edition of Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (vol. iii.).

2. See the classification of English *-ing* names in the Appendix to this Introduction.

3. There is no Index Locorum to Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, but its place-names have been examined and arranged in Dr. Middendorff's *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*, (Halle, 1902).

It can, moreover, be supported by positive evidence no less telling. English place-names give clear indication of social grades in the body politic, although these grades are not those which fit into the manorial system of Seebohm. In the first place, we find, in all parts of England, the names Kingston and Coniston. The former is English, the latter Norse (Old Norse *Konungstun*), and both indicate that the institution of kingship was recognised in England at an early period, and that all over England there were enclosures of land in the possession of the kings of the various districts. At the other end of the social scale we meet with the names Walton and Walworth, which, as we have already seen, can usually be traced back to O.E. *Wealatun* and *Wealawurth*, and signify the enclosure or the abode of the slaves, the slaves being Britons (*Wealas*). Still commoner than the place-names Kingston and Walton is that of Charlton or Carlton. It goes back to O.E. *Ceorlatun*, or O.N. *Karlatun*, and means the enclosure of the *ceorlas* or 'churls.' In what sense, then, is the word *ceorl* or *karl* used in these place-names? The original meaning of the word seems to have been simply 'a man,' 'a male,' and in the *Beowulf* we find that even a king could be referred to as a *ceorl*.[1] In prose, however, the word *ceorl* is generally used in the sense of the common freeman,[2] as distinguished from the noble on the one hand, and the slave on the other; he is "the man who has no special distinction to claim, but stands in the middle rank of society."[3] All over England, then, there were *túnas* or enclosures of land, with or without dwelling-houses erected upon them, in the possession of the common freemen who constituted a very large class in primitive Teutonic society.

In the next place, we have to consider what evidence there is in English place-names of the existence of a nobility standing between the king and the common freeman. In the early seventh century Laws of the Kentish king Æthelberht[4] mention is made of the *eorl*, or *eorlcundman*, as a member of a distinct social order, having his definite *wergild* or compensation-value; but outside of Kent the word *eorl* seems, at first at any rate, to have been, like *hláford* or *mundbora* or *béaggifa*, simply a picturesque and not a formal or official title of a man of noble rank: and it enters very rarely into the composition of English place-names.[5] Nor do we meet with the title *ealdormann* at all commonly;[6] the *ealdormann* or alderman was a definite official under the king, but he rose to importance only at a comparatively late period of Old English history, with the rise of the counties over which he had jurisdiction. The primitive title for the Teutonic nobleman was *ætheling*, and this we meet with in the West Riding Adlingfleet (O.E. *Æthelingesfleot*—the nobleman's

1. Thus King Hrethel is the *gomelum ceorle*, i.e., aged man, in verse 2445, and King Ongentheow is spoken of as an *ealdum ceorle*—old man—in verse 2973.
2. See Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ii., 32.
3. Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 123.
4. Ed. Liebermann, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 3-8.
5. It is not recorded in Kemble's Index, but occurs once, in the form *erlis ford*, in a charter of Birch (No. 817).
6. An unidentified *Ealdermannes hæc* is recorded by Kemble (Charter 813).

river), in Athelney (O.E. *Æthelinga ieg*—the water-meadow of the nobles, and in the unidentified *Æthelingeden* (the valley, or swine-pasture, of the nobles) of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 707). And here we exhaust the list of names of the social orders in the English community which are at all commonly met with in Old English place-names. Highest in rank stood the king; below him were the *æthelingas*, and below these the great body of common freemen, the *ceorlas*; lowest of all were the *wealas* or British slaves. But of all the other orders which Seebohm's manorial theory embraces, and which find a place in the ninth and tenth century codes of laws—the *thegen*, the *genéat*, the *gebúr*, the *cotsetla*,—together with all the official classes mentioned in these codes of laws—there is scarcely a single trace. Have we not, therefore, a right to assume that English social history starts not with serfdom, but with freedom; not in the principle, *nul homme sans seigneur*, but in the unassailed possession, on the part of the humblest churl, of full and undivided liberty?

Turning from the consideration of the social orders of primitive English life, we have next to ask the question, Where and how did these free tribesmen, under the leadership of their kings and nobles, settle in the land which conquest had made theirs? Were they town-dwellers, or villagers, or did they, in the memorable words of Tacitus's *Germania*, fix their settlements "apart and scattered, according as they found pleasure in spring, or plain, or grove."[1] Historians are generally agreed that the primitive Englishman was not a town-dweller, and that in his eyes the walled cities which the Romans had left behind them in Britain were the sepulchres of freedom. The theory advanced by most modern English historians is that the English settled in villages. "The Teutonic invasions," writes Professor Vinogradoff, "had a decisive influence in bringing about a concentration of the people in villages, *túns*. The new settlers were bent on keeping together, for purposes of cultivation and defence; the troubled times, which began with their invasion and went on until the complete organisation of feudal monarchy, were not propitious to separate homesteads and farms. The sway of the military class over the agricultural was made easier by the gathering of masters, foremen, and tillers in the same centres. Quite apart from the question whether the rural agglomeration was organised hierarchically around one lord, or composed of many more or less independent holdings, the *túns*, *hâms*, *leys*, and *thorpes* of the English and northern settlements are mainly villages, groups of considerable size, and not hamlets.....though it has to be recognised that there were still many hamlets and separate farms [of Celtic origin] by the side of these typical Old English *túns*."[2] The view which is here set forth that the typical Old English *tún* was a village is open to a certain amount of philological criticism. For the etymological significance of the word *tún* is simply 'an enclosure' and there is abundant evidence that the word was used

1. "Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit" (*Germania*, xvi.).
2. *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 147.

in this sense in historic times. In the Laws of Ine, which belong to the years 690-693, there is a decree concerning the fencing of the common freeman's meadow, and this meadow is spoken of as a *gærstún—i.e.*, an enclosure where grass grows, where the word *tún* is clearly used in its original sense.[1] Similarly, we find reference in Old English literature to the *wyrttún* or plant enclosure—perhaps what we should now call a kitchen garden—while an exceedingly common O.E. word is *beretún*—the barley-enclosure, or rick-yard, which survives as a place-name to-day in multitudinous Bartons. In all these compounds there is, I think, no question that the word *tún* means simply an enclosure, and not a village. Again, a common Yorkshire and Lancashire place-name is Bolton, which appears as *Bodelton* in Domesday Book, and goes back to O.E. *Bodltun* or *Botltun*, in which the first part is the word *botl*, a building. The name *Botlton* or Bolton was apparently given to these *túnas* or enclosures because they were distinguishable from adjoining enclosures by having a *botl* or building of some sort erected upon them. In course of time these Boltons, Bartons, and Garstons have become villages or towns, but it is highly improbable that they were anything of the sort when the names were first bestowed upon them. An examination of the English terminations of Yorkshire place-names given in the Appendix to this Introduction will show that comparatively few of them imply the existence of what may be called groups of houses of considerable size, and that the majority of them are either mere field or land-mark names, or denote the existence of a single house, or a small cluster of houses. Many of these terminations, too, *e.g.*, *-ton*, *-ham*, *-ley*, *-worth*, etc., are not peculiar to Yorkshire, but are met with all over England. Without denying, therefore, the existence of the village in the period which immediately followed the settlement of Britain by Englishmen, and without wishing to set up one uniform type of settlement in every, or, indeed, in any, part of England, I think that the evidence of place-name study tells strongly in favour of the view that a very large number of the towns and villages of the England of to-day have grown out of single farmsteads or small clusters of houses; and that in England, as in Germany, the early English settlers, in spite of their need of proper organisation for purposes of cultivation and defence, loved best of all to erect their homesteads and till their fields "apart and scattered, according as they found pleasure in spring, or plain, or shady grove."

5.—THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE WEST RIDING.

English and Irish chroniclers, together with the authors of Norse sagas, have left on record a good deal of information as to the Scandinavian invasion and settlement of England; and the main

1. See Liebermann, *op. cit.*, i., 106.

facts in the story have recently been clearly set forth by Mr. W. G. Collingwood in his *Scandinavian Britain* (1908). Yorkshire, as is well known, became part of a Scandinavian kingdom after the capture of York by Ivarr and Halfdan in the year 867, and the Scandinavian place-names which lie scattered over all parts of the county, and especially in the North and East Ridings, show how numerous these settlements were. The Scandinavian conquest of England was probably of a somewhat different nature from the English conquest of Britain. The new conquerors must have inflicted upon their victims far less slaughter, enslavement, or exile than that inflicted by the English upon the conquered Britons. No doubt there was at first plenty of fighting and destruction of property, but the two races were closely akin, their languages were allied, and, though they were at first of different faiths, their historic traditions and their manner of life had many points in common. An examination of the West-Riding place-names brings to light several interesting things with regard to the mutual relations of the English and the Scandinavians within this area. In the first place, it teaches us that the two races, when the struggle for supremacy was over, were well content to settle upon the land in close proximity to one another. As an illustration of this, let us consider for a moment the place-names of Wharfedale which appear on our list. Starting at the head of the valley, we find that Hubberholme is English, though its original English suffix *-ham* has been replaced by the Scandinavian *-holme*; Buckden is English, Starbotton is Scandinavian; Kettlewell and Grassington may be either the one or the other, but Coniston is a pure Scandinavian name. Threshfield, Linton, Burnsall, Hartlington, Appletreewick, and Drebley are all English, but Howgill is Norse. Barden and Bolton are English, but Bolton Scale contains the Norse word *skáli*, a shealing or temporary hut. Beamsley, Addingham, and Nesfield are English, while Ilkley is anglicized Celtic. Denton and Burley are English, but Askwith is Scandinavian; Weston, Otley, Poole, Arthington are all English, Castley is a hybrid of Latin and English. Weardley, Harewood and Collingham are English, Wetherby is Danish, and Thorp Arch may be either the one or the other. Newton Kyme is English, Tadcaster is a mixture of English and Latin, Ulleskelf is Scandinavian, and Nun Appleton and Ryther are English. From this is will be seen that the majority of the names are English—and this is true of all parts of the Riding—but that nowhere is there a great stretch of country in which Scandinavian names are wanting.

Let us now change our direction, and follow the Great North Road: Bawtry is English, Rossington is probably Scandinavian, Doncaster is Romano-Celtic, Adwick-le-Street is a mixture of English, French and Latin, Skellow is probably a mixture of Scandinavian and English, Darrington is English, Ferrybridge is Scandinavian in origin, but the English word 'bridge' was subsequently added; Brotherton, Fairburn, Ledsham, Micklefield, Parlington, and

Aberford are mainly English; Becca Hall is a mixture of Scandinavian and English, Bramham is English, Wetherby is Danish. In Kirk Deighton, Kirk is Scandinavian, but Deighton is English, Allerton is English; Flaxby and Coneythorpe (a little to the left of the road) are Scandinavian, Clareton is English, Minskip is Scandinavian, Boroughbridge is English. Once again we find the two races establishing their settlements in close proximity to one another.

Names like Denaby and Denby, which mean 'the village or farm-stead of the Danes,' and Normanton, which means 'the enclosure of the Northmen,' probably indicate the existence of settlements in which the population was at first mainly Scandinavian, but it is probable that in most of the villages the races were soon intermixed. The fact that some of the names—*e.g.*, Skellow and Becca, mentioned above—are partly Scandinavian and partly English favours this view, and so does the fact that certain place-names—*e.g.*, Shelley—are sometimes spelt according to Scandinavian principles, and sometimes according to English.

It is well known that the Scandinavian settlement of England was partly the work of the Danes and partly of the Norwegians; it is also generally believed that in certain districts, *e.g.*, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, the Danish element greatly preponderated, whereas in others, *e.g.*, the Lake District, the settlement was mainly a Norwegian one. In the case of Yorkshire the theory is that the main body of the settlers consisted of Danes, but that in the western parts of the West Riding, and in Cleveland, there were Norwegian colonies formed by men who entered the county from Westmorland and Cumberland, long after the Danes had sailed up the Humber and established themselves in the east and south and in the great central plain.[1]

What light does an examination of the Yorkshire place-names throw upon this theory? It is a matter in which philology enjoins strictest caution. Dr. Erik Björkman, who has made an exact study of the provenance of Scandinavian words in English,[2] is extremely guarded in determining whether a Scandinavian word in use in our language belongs to the West Scandinavian (Norse, Icelandic) or to the East Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish) branch. And whereas Isaac Taylor taught us to regard *thorpe* as a distinctly Danish word,[3] Dr. Björkman does not consider it Scandinavian at all, but English. There can, I think, be little doubt that in many of the West Riding place-names the termination *-thorpe* is Scandinavian, but inasmuch as the word undoubtedly existed in Old Norse as well as Old Danish, it cannot be looked upon as a test-word.

A word which Taylor and Collingwood regard as distinctively Norse is *thwaite*, the argument being that the place-names ending in *-thwaite* are very common in the Lake District but exceedingly

1. See Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 178.
2. *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English* (Halle, 1900).
3. *Words and Places*, sixth edition, p. 105.

rare in Lincolnshire. But here again the reason is insufficient. In Iceland, which we know to have been a purely Norse settlement, the word *thwaite* is not found ; it is frequently met with in Norse place-names, but also in Danish.[1] A much better test-word is the termination *-by*. This word existed in Old Danish in the form *-byr* (Mod. Dan. *-by*), and though this form is not unknown in Old Norse, the usual O.N. form is *bör*. Phonology shows that O.N. *bör* would have become Middle English *bé*, in just the same way that O.N. *slögr*, sly, became M.E. *slég*. Seeing, then, that the M.E. form of West Riding place-names ending in *-by* is never *-bé*, but always *-bi* or *-by*, it is highly probable that this termination is descended, not from the O.N. *bör*, but from the O.D. *býr*. The *by*-names are fairly evenly distributed over the West Riding, and reach as far west as Newby in the parish of Gisburn, Thorlby, near Skipton, Flasby, near Gargrave, and Sowerby Bridge in the Calder Valley.

Other useful test-words are *gill* and *scale*. The former is from O.N. *gil*, a glen, and is unknown in Danish ; the latter, which is also unknown in the East Scandinavian branch, is from O.N. *skáli*, a temporary hut, a shealing. But place-names which contain the words *gill* and *scale* are so rarely met with on our list, that it it unsafe to draw conclusions ; no doubt the word *gill* is most frequently met with in the western highlands of Yorkshire, but that is also true of the thing for which the name stands.

When we turn from tests of vocabulary to tests of phonology, we are still beset with difficulties. There is no doubt that the termination *-how*, meaning a hill, mound, is from the O.N. *haugr* and not from the Danish *höi* ; that *-with*, a wood, is from O.N. *vithr* and not from Danish *ved* ; that the *Sower-* of Sowerby is from O.N. *saurr*, and not from the East Scandinavian *sör* ; but in these and other similar cases we also know that the East Scandinavian forms have developed out of the Old Norse forms at a period subsequent to the Scandinavian settlement of England, and therefore furnish us with no certain ground for inference. Almost the only phonological test which is of practical use to us is the O.N. assimilation of *nt* to *tt*, where the East Scandinavian languages retained the *nt*. This change took place in the so-called Viking age (700-1050), *i.e.*, about the time when the Scandinavians were making their conquests in England. The West Riding hamlet of Clint may accordingly be looked upon as a Danish settlement. The name is from the original Scandinavian *klentr*, a rock, cliff, which became *klettr* in O.N. through the assimilation of *nt* to *tt*, but *klint* in Danish.

In conclusion, it may be said that the attempt to distinguish between Norse and Danish settlements in Yorkshire is attended with considerable difficulty, but that the wide diffusion of names ending in *-by* makes it probable that the Danish branch of the Scandinavian conquerors established their settlements in all parts of the Riding.

1. See Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, ' *thveit*.'

The analysis of the Scandinavian place-names in the West Riding discloses no very salient points of difference from that of the purely English place-names. The Scandinavian *thwaites* were probably very much like the English *leys*, and the Scandinavian *tofts*, *bys*, and *thorpes* must have borne a general resemblance to the English *worths*, *wicks* and *boroughs*, while the termination *-ton*, in the sense of an enclosure, was common to both peoples. The Scandinavian place-names show, however, a greater advance in the direction of political organisation than the English. The only vestige of political organisation which the English names in the West Riding disclose is that of the shire, as indicated by such a name as Hallamshire. The establishment of Scandinavian rule at York seems to have led to an abandonment of the attempt to split up the county of broad acres into shires, and for this native method of division there was now substituted the Scandinavian division into *thridjungar* or ridings, *i.e.*, third parts of the whole county.[1] The further division of the ridings into wapentakes (Old Norse *vapnatak*), which correspond to the hundreds of the counties farther to the south, was also the work of the Scandinavian conquerors.

There are, too, vestiges in Yorkshire of other forms of Scandinavian land-partition for political or official purposes. Some five miles to the east of Sheffield is the village of Morthen, and hard by are other villages, called respectively Brampton-en-le-Morthen and Laughton-en-le-Morthen. Now the name Morthen appears in *Kirkby's Inquest* and other early records, as *Morthing* or *Morthyng*, in which the second element is undoubtedly the Scandinavian word *thing*, meaning (i.) an assembly, meeting, parliament, and (ii.) a district, county, shire. The *thing* is a familiar unit of territory in Scandinavian lands, and has a political significance. In Norway it dates from the reign of Hakon the Good (940-963), and it is highly probable that the Yorkshire name Morthen or Morthing is identical in meaning with the Swedish Morathing, which, with Uppsalathing, constitutes the chief political division of Sweden. The word *thing* appears elsewhere in Scandinavian Britain, *e.g.*, in Thingwall, (Lancashire), Thingwall (Cheshire), and Tingwall (Shetland Islands); but in these names it seems to have been used rather in the sense of a meeting, parliament, and the little district to the east of Sheffield is apparently the only place in Britain where the word was used in its secondary sense of district, or shire.

The political sense of the Scandinavian settlers seems to have reached a very high stage in the district round Sheffield, for not only do we find there, and there alone, the establishment of the *thing* as a territorial unit, but also that of the *byrlaw*. This appears in the names Brampton Bierlow, Brightside Bierlow, and Eccleshall Bierlow, and signifies a district having its own byrlaw court or local law.[2]

We do not know exactly what were the powers possessed by such a court, but the word has survived to this day in these place-

1. Lincolnshire was similarly divided into ridings.
2. See *New English Dictionary, sub* 'Byrlaw.'

names and bears witness to the organising power and legislative ability of the Scandinavian tribesmen in and around Sheffield.

If the political division of the land on the part of the Scandinavian shows a higher and later stage of development than that of the Angle, so also does the ordering of the people. To the threefold division into *athelingas*, *ceorlas* and Welsh slaves (*wealas*) which we have noticed in dealing with the Anglian settlement of the West Riding, must now be added a fourth—that of the *leysingar* or freedmen, who stood socially and politically between the common freemen or *ceorlas* and the *wealas* or slaves; they probably corresponded to the Kentish *lætas*, mentioned in the Laws of Æthelberht. There is a farm-house called Lazencroft in the parish of Barwick-in-Elmet, while in the North Riding there are two villages called Lazenby, which appear as *Leisingebi* or *Lesingebi*, or in some more corrupt form, in Domesday Book, and go back to the Old Scandinavian *Leysingaby*, the abode of the *leysingar* or freedmen. Still lower than the *leysingr* among the Scandinavian social orders was the *skálkr* or slave, who probably corresponded in station to the British *wealh*, and who has given his name to Scawsby.

There is yet another class among the Scandinavian settlers in Yorkshire which calls for notice—that of the *drengir*. As civilisation advanced, and power and wealth passed gradually from the many to the few, there arose, throughout the Teutonic world, new orders of men, whose functions were of an official nature and who were more or less dependent upon the new feudal lords, or upon the king. Foremost among these were the professional soldiers, or sergeants-at-arms, as Professor Vinogradoff calls them;[1] in Old English literature they are sometimes spoken of as *rádcnihtas*, in Old Norse as *drengir*; they were above the *ceorl* in station, and Bede's story of the man of this class—he speaks of him as a *miles*—who, being captured, pretended that he was a mere *rusticus* in order to escape death,[2] is a clear indication that the sergeant-at-arms was a recognised official in English society already at the close of the seventh century. Near York is a hamlet called Dringhouses, older forms of which are *Drengehous* and *Drenghus*; it goes back to the Old Norse *Drengahus*, and means the houses where the *drengir* or sergeants-at-arms lived.

The Scandinavian settlements in Yorkshire, in *thorpe*, and *by*, *toft*, and *thwaite*, must have resembled, in their main features, the earlier settlements of the Angle in *tun*, and *ham*, *worth*, and *ley*; and there is, accordingly, no need to repeat what has already been stated. In Denmark, South Sweden, and South Norway the typical settlement was that of the village with its open fields and strip-farming; but in the north of Norway and Sweden the typical settlement was the single farm.[3] And, inasmuch as the Scandinavian settlers in Yorkshire were in all probability partly of Danish and partly of Norse extraction, the likelihood is that both forms of settlement were established in their new homes.

1. *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 220. 2. *Ecclesiastical History*, iv., 22.
3. See K. T. von Inima-Sternegg, *Wirtschaft* (Paul's *Grundriss*, iii., 22).

6.—ANGLO-DANISH CIVILISATION IN THE WEST RIDING.

We have already considered, in dealing with the Anglian and Scandinavian settlement of the West Riding, some of the most important elements in Anglo-Danish civilisation, and have endeavoured to show what light these names cast upon the social, political, and military organisation of the Angle and the Dane respectively. But there still remain for study certain other elements of civilised life, concerning which place-names have something to tell, and to these we may now turn our thoughts.

Religion. The religious beliefs of a people constitute the most important factor in the development of national character, and it is therefore only fitting that our attention should first of all be directed to the study of Anglo-Danish religion. Seeing that the English and the Scandinavians were alike pagans at the time when they effected their conquests of the West Riding and gave their names to *ton* and *thorpe*, *lea* and *worth* and *by*, it is remarkable that there should be no direct reference to their pagan worship in the place-names on our list. It is very possible that allusions to their ceremonial rites are to be found in some of the place or field-names of the Riding, but nothing of this sort appears among the names dealt with in this volume. Certain mythical names occur, and their significance will be indicated directly; but they are the names of heroes rather than of gods. Indirectly, however, we do learn something of Teutonic paganism from West-Riding place-names. The celestial deities, Woden and Tiw, who have given their names to certain places in the midlands and south of England, have left no record of themselves in the Riding, but the great god Thunor, known to the Scandinavians as Thorr, has given his name to Thruscross, Thurgoland, Thorlby, Thurlstone, and Thurstanland; in each of these cases, however, the allusion to Thorr is probably indirect. Thruscross is not the cross of the god Thorr, but the cross, as a symbol of Christian worship, set up by a man called Thorr, Thorsteinn, Thorgeirr, or some other Thor-compound. The bestowal of such a name upon a man is, of course, a relic of early paganism, but we have no right to suppose that his parents were necessarily pagans, for we know that many of these old pagan names survived the evangelisation of the country, and, indeed, exist to-day as Christian names and surnames. In the same way Thurgoland, Thorlby, Thurlstone, and Thurstanland are not directly named after the god Thorr, but after Scandinavian settlers whose names were one or other of the many Thor-compounds. Nor is there apparently any reference to pagan ritual in our West-Riding names. Lumby is the farmstead by the grove of trees (O.N. *lundr*), but there is no need to associate this particular grove with Scandinavian grove-worship, and Harrogate—a name not on our list—is not 'the road to the heathen temple' (O.E. *hearh*). Our place-names teach us nothing concerning altars, human or animal sacrifice, 'need-fires,' witchcraft or prophecy; nor is there any allusion to dwarfs, witches, norns, valkyrie, werwolves, or the spirits of fire or flood. Was the

primitive Yorkshireman distinguished by his scepticism, or is it mere chance that names bearing reference to all this lost ritual and superstition are absent from our list ?

When we turn from primitive paganism to Christianity we find more to notice. We have already considered the vestiges of Celtic Christianity which survive in the place-names compounded with *Eccles ;* our present concern is with the Roman Christianity which was introduced into Yorkshire by Paulinus in the reign of Edwin (617-633), and the Celtic Christianity which was brought from Iona by Aidan and his followers in the first half of the seventh century. The latter seems to have left traces of itself in the name Beal or Beaghall (*q.v.*) which may incorporate the name of the Irish virgin saint Begha, who has also given her name to St. Bees in Cumberland. It is also possible that the abbess Heiu, who, according to Bede, was the first woman in Northumbria to become a nun, has given her name to Healaugh (*q.v.*). Apart from these two places, saints' names do not appear on our list. Bede tells us much concerning Anglian monasticism, and some record of it is preserved in the names Bishop Monkton, Nun Monkton, and Nunwick. It is not quite certain whether the word *kirk* is from the Old Norse *kirkja*, or simply a Northumbrian form of the O.E. *cyrice* (modern English 'church'),[1] but the fact that in the Domesday Book spellings of West-Riding names it is found only in composition with the Danish termination *-by* is a strong indication of its Scandinavian origin. There are five West Riding Kirkbys mentioned in Domesday Book, but we have probably no right to assume that the churches in each of these cases were of Scandinavian foundation; it is equally likely that the native form *cyrice* became lost in Yorkshire, and that the Scandinavian *kirkja* took its place. The word *cross* which appears in the names Thruscross and Crossland is also Scandinavian in origin. The O.E. word was *ród* (Mod. E. rood), and has left no trace of itself in our list of names. The erection of crosses by the roadside or on hills was a common practice of the Scandinavians, who borrowed the word from the Irish (Old Irish *crós*), and place-names beginning or ending in *cross* or *kross* are common in Scandinavia and Scandinavian England to-day.

In addition to the orders of monks, there were in Anglo-Danish Yorkshire the secular priests who had charge of the kirks, and gave spiritual instruction to the people. They have left a record of themselves in the names Preston and Purston Jaglin, both of which go back to the O.E. *Preostatun*, the enclosure of the priests, and indicate that these ministers to the people's spiritual needs had special plots of land allotted to them.

Myth and Legend. It has long been recognised that the place-names of any particular country or district are of value in casting light upon the diffusion of primitive sagas, telling of mythic or legendary heroes whose deeds were once familiar there. Professor Binz, in an article contributed to the twentieth volume of Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, and entitled *Zeugnisse zur germanischen Saga in*

1. See Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 143.

England, has clearly indicated the nature and limitations of this form of research, and has conclusively shown that English place-names bear direct witness to the diffusion in England of some of the most important of the Teutonic sagas. Before proceeding to investigate the traces of such sagas in the place-names of the West Riding, one word of explanation is, perhaps, necessary. We have just seen that while names like Thruscross or Thoresby do not mean that these places were specially associated with the worship of the Scandinavian god Thorr, they do ultimately lead us back to Scandinavian paganism; similarly, such a name as Waldershelfe, while it does not imply that the hero of the famous Waldere saga ever wandered to Yorkshire, probably indicates that that saga was known to the early Anglian settlers in the county, and that Waldershelfe owes its name to a man called Waldere, who took his name from the mythical hero.

The most interesting of all the Teutonic legends to Englishmen is that which is associated with our national epic, *Beowulf*, and the first question which arises is, therefore, whether any of the heroic names which find a place in that epic are imbedded in the place-names of the Riding. There is no trace of the name Beowulf in the places on our list, but it is by no means impossible that the name of the mythical Beowa, whose deeds of valour were subsequently fathered upon the historic Beowulf, is preserved in the place-name Beeston (*q.v.*). If so, the form of the name which is preserved in Beeston is not the weak form *Beowa*, but the strong form *Beow*, which would give us *Beowestun* as the original form of Beeston.

Beowulf's great adversary, Grendel, seems to have lent his name to the place-name Grindleton. The early spellings of this name point apparently to an original *Grendelingatun* or *Grindelingatun*, the meaning of which is 'the enclosure of the family of Grendel or Grindel.' Professor Binz finds no record in English place-names of Hrothgar, the name of the Danish king to whose rescue Beowulf comes, and whose princely hall, Heorot, he frees from the nightly ravages of Grendel. The name, however, appears in more than one Yorkshire place-name, though its form is somewhat disguised. The Scandinavian forms of Hrothgar are Hrothgeirr and Hrothwarr, and the second of these two forms was, at an early period, contracted to Hroarr (see Noreen, *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen*, Paul's *Grundriss*, first edition, i., 456); and the name Hroarr is preserved in Royston in the West Riding and Ruston in the East; both these names appear as *Roreston* in Domesday Book.

The father of Hrothgar was Healfdene, and it is possible that his name is preserved in Haldanby, though in the absence of spellings of this name with medial *s*—*Haldenesby*—it is also possible that the place owes its name to the tribe of the Healfdene, also mentioned in *Beowulf*. Another son of Healfdene, and younger brother of Hrothgar, was Halga, and his name is preserved in Halifax. Hrothulf, the son of this Halga, has given his name to Rowlston in the East Riding, which is spelt *Roolfestun* in Domesday Book; (cf. Rolleston, Staffordshire, which appears as *Rothulfeston* in

Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ii., 771). Hrothmund, the son of Hrothgar—mentioned in *Beowulf*, *l.* 1190,—has also left a trace of his name in Yorkshire; it appears in the North Riding village of Romanby, which is spelt *Romundebi* in Domesday Book. Before leaving the great Danish royal house, whose members figure so prominently in *Beowulf*, it will be well to consider for a moment the name Sheffield. The name probably owes its origin to the river Sheaf which flows through it. But what is the origin of the river-name? It has a Teutonic, and not a Celtic, sound, and though the matter must remain in the highest degree conjectural, I am disposed to connect this river-name with the mythic Sceaf, the divine ancestor from whom Healfdene, Hrothgar, and all the other members of that royal house, traced their descent.

Still keeping to the Beowulf epic, we notice next the name of the great king Hrethel, the father of Hygelac, and grandfather of Beowulf. His name appears to be preserved in the West Riding village of Riddlesden (D.B. *Redclesden*). Another famous name recorded in *Beowulf* is that of Ingeld, a prince of the Lombard dynasty, who married the daughter of Hrothgar. This name is almost certainly preserved in Ingleton. Professor Binz thinks that Ingleton is the *tún* of the *Engle* or English, but the D.B. form of the name—*Inglestun*—makes this impossible; it is the *tún* of a man called Ingeld, whose name goes back to that of the Lombard prince. The name Ingeld also occurs frequently in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. There is no record, in our list of names, of Finn and Hoc, two commanding figures in the Finn saga, which is introduced into the Old English epic as an episode. In other parts of England these two names are frequently met with, but not in Yorkshire. On the other hand, Hun, the name of a ruler of the Franks who was the ally of the Frisian king Finn, has given his name to Hunslet and Hunshelf.

Turning from the Beowulf story and its episodes to other Teutonic sagas, we may notice, first of all, the reminiscence of the great Waldere saga, preserved in the name Waldershelfe. The fragments of the *Waldere* lay contained in the *corpus* of Old English poems indicate clearly that the story of the West Gothic prince Waldere was well known in England, and the name Waldershelfe points to its diffusion in Yorkshire. Closely associated with the heroic Waldere is the Burgundian prince Hagen, Hagena, or Hagona, who is also a notable figure in the Nibelungen saga. His name is preserved in the place-names of several English counties, and appears in the *Hageneuurde* of Domesday Book—the modern Haworth—and also in Hanlith near Malham, which is spelt *Haghenlith* or *Hagenlyth* in several early English documents.

Again, in Warmsworth, which appears as *Wermundesworth* in the early thirteenth century *Register* of Archbishop Gray, we meet with the heroic name of Wærmund, the father of Offa, the hero of the Offa-saga, which is introduced, by way of an episode, into the *Beowulf*.

Closely associated with these names is that of Wada or Wade, who was long remembered in England. He figures in Middle English romances as the equal of Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, and Havelock the Dane, and his story is told to Chaucer's Cressida by her uncle Pandarus in the inimitable Pandaric manner:

"And after soper gonnen they to rise
At ese wel with hertes fresshe and glad;
And wel was him that coude best devise
To liken her, or that her laughen made.
He song; she pleyde; he tolde tale of Wade.
But at the laste, as every thing hath ende,
She took her leve, and nedes wolde wende."

(*Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. iii., vv. 610-617.)

The doings of Wade, the sea-maiden's son and father of Weland the smith, were doubtless often recited by Yorkshire firesides, and his name is preserved in the place-names Wadsley, Wadsworth, Wadworth, and Waddington.

The Life of the People. We must now descend from the study of Teutonic gods and heroes to the level of the daily life of our forefathers in the home which conquest had made theirs. Apart from the defence of their newly-won country from attack, and the organisation of the people for military affairs, the prime occupation of Angle and Dane alike was the cultivation of the land. How much of the West Riding was under cultivation at this time it is, of course, impossible to say, but the terminations *-ley* and *-thwaite* (see pp. xliii., xlv.) point to the labour which was spent in the clearing of the ground for agricultural purposes, while *-garth* or *-gards*, *-hay*, *-ton*, *-worth*, and sometimes *-ham* (see pp. xxxviii.–xlvii.) tell of the enclosure of the land by wall or hedge. Very little light is thrown by our place-names on the methods which were pursued in farming, and it is not easy to determine how far the arable land of the district was in the form of open, unenclosed fields, divided up into acre or half-acre strips, separated from each other by balks of turf. Dr. Seebohm has accumulated a vast amount of evidence as to the extent of this form of aration during the Old English period in various parts of England, and it is unfortunate that our place-names have so little direct bearing upon the question.

There is, however, some evidence as to the crops which were grown. The name Wheatley indicates that wheat was grown in the Riding, while Barlow and Barwick speak of crops of barley (O.E. *bere*). Similarly, Ryhill tells of the culture of rye, Nappa of the turnip (O.E. *nǽphaga*, the turnip enclosure), Calton of the kale or cabbage, and Linton and Lingards of the growing of flax (O.E. *lín*); Havercroft may be the oat-field, or the field in which goats were reared. The association in these names of certain pieces of arable land with certain specific crops is a matter of some interest. It is generally believed that the method of agriculture practised in Old English times was that of the three-field system. According to this system, there was a two-fold rotation of crops in the order of winter-corn or wheat, and spring-corn or oats, while in the third season the

land was allowed to lie fallow.[1] But names like Wheatley, Barlow, Ryhill, etc., seem to indicate that there were exceptions to this system; it is just possible that names such as these were bestowed upon certain tracts of ground because they were specially suitable for the cultivation of wheat, barley, or rye, but the more natural view to take is that on such spots wheat or barley or rye was always grown. This may seem to point to bad agriculture, but it is well known that this system of farming—the so-called 'one-field system'—was in force for centuries in many parts of northern Germany. "All over the sand and bog district of the north of Germany," writes Seebohm,[2] "crops, mostly of rye and buckwheat, have for centuries been grown year after year on the same land, kept productive by marling and peat manure," and it would seem that this system was not unknown in Yorkshire and other parts of England where place-names occur which contain the names of one or other of the great cereal or root crops. Side by side with these names which tell of aration, are others which indicate that dairy-farming and stock-rearing were in practice. The names Oxenhope, Oxton, Oxspring, Calverley, and Fairburn, all speak of the rearing of cattle, while the sheep has given its name to Shepley, Shipley, Skipton, and Wetherby. Swinden and Swinton tell of the feeding of swine in field or woodland, Gateforth is the ford of the goats, Horsforth that of the horses. Other names which throw light upon farming in Yorkshire before the Norman Conquest are East and Dun Keswick, which tell of dairy-farms and cheese-making; also Wortley, in the parish of Tankersley, which seems originally to have been what we should now call a kitchen garden; Threshfield, which discloses threshing operations; and Studley and Stotfold, which place on record the famous Yorkshire industry—the rearing of horses. Finally, the names Appleton, Appletreewick, and Plumpton may owe their names to the planting there of orchards of apple and plum trees; but it is also possible that in each of these cases it was the wild apple, or the wild plum, which has given its name to the place.

When we pass from agriculture to other forms of industry, we find, in the place-names on our list, very few references to the various trades which in modern times have made of the West Riding a hive of industrial activity. In other words, there are but scanty traces of the many occupational names which are among the commonest English surnames of the England of to-day. There are no Weavers, Fullers, Barkers, Walkers, Marshalls, Tailors, Butchers, or Bakers among the personal or class-names imbedded in these West-Riding place-names. Yet there is evidence that occupational names are not wholly absent. The first of craftsmen was the smith, who wrought sword and burnie for the soldier, and ploughs for the husbandman. He rises to the heights of divinity in the Weland-saga, and he has bequeathed his name to the village of Smeaton (O.E. *Smithatun*)—the enclosure of the smiths. In the Boldon Book, of

1. See Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, p. 373, 376.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

the year 1183, we learn that the village smith receives twelve acres of land in return for his services in repairing the manorial ploughs.[1]

Another primitive craftsman was the potter, whose deft hands fashioned the vessels of honour and dishonour which were used in hall and cottage. He has given his name to Potterton (O.E. *Potteratun*)—the enclosure of the potters—and, at a later date, to Potter Newton. Another name which seems to point to a primitive trade is Meltham, in which the first element is either O.E. *meltan*, to melt, smelt, or O.N. *melta*, to malt, and which may therefore indicate the place where ore was smelted, or where John Barleycorn was malted. Smelting operations were also carried on at Kirkby Overblow, which is a corruption of Kirkby Oreblowers, and marks the spot at which, some time after the Norman Conquest—for the cognomen Oreblowers is a later addition—Yorkshire oreblowers or smelters erected their 'bloomeries.'

The reference to the brewing of ale, under Meltham, brings to notice the name of Bewerley, a village near Pateley Bridge. It can probably be traced back to O.E. *Beoweardaleah*, the meaning of which is 'the lea of the bee-keepers.' At a time when mead was the national drink throughout the Teutonic world, and when the mead-bench (*meodu-benc*) stood in every king's banqueting-hall, and the mead-cup (*meodu-scenc*) was passed to weary warriors by queenly hands,[2] the culture of bees was of the first importance. The duties of the bee-keeper (*beo-ceorl*, *beo-weard*) are explicitly set forth in the Old English *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*,[3] and may well have been in force among the bee-keepers of Bewerley, whose charges winged their way among the pleasant braes of Nidderdale in search of heather-honey.

It is hard to think of the West Riding without its mills, but of manufacture, at least in the modern sense of the word, nothing was known in Yorkshire at the period with which we are dealing. The quern or hand-mill for grinding corn (O.E. *cweorn*, O.N. *kvern*) was, however, in use, and has bequeathed its name to Quarmby, while the Latin word for a mill (*molina*), which was one of the first words introduced into English from Latin (O.E. *mylen*), is preserved in the name Milford.

The merchant, like the manufacturer, was of small account when Angle and Dane first established their dwellings in Yorkshire dale and plain. The Old English word for a market is *céap*, and it in preserved in the Chepstow, Chipstead, Chipping Norton, and Chipstaple of counties farther to the south. It is possible that the Yorkshire Kippax (*q.v.*) is 'the market-ash,' *i.e.*, the ash-tree beneath the shade of which a market was held, but it is more likely that the

1. Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 70 *n.*
2. Cf. *Beowulf*, verses 1981-1984:

"Meodu-scencum hwearf
geond thæt heal-reced Hærethes dohtor;
lufode tha leode, lithwæge bær
Hænum to handa."

(The daughter of Hæreth passed through the hall with the mead-cups; she loved the people, and handed the cider-bowl to the dwellers on the heath.)

3. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i., 448.

meaning of the name is 'the ash-tree on the hill.' Closely akin, however, to the Old English *céap*, and identical with it in meaning, is the O.N. word *kaup*, from which was formed the derivative *kaupmathr* (gen. pl. *kaupmanna*), a chapman, trader. This is preserved in the modern Copmanthorpe, near York, which goes back to O.N. *Kaupmannathorp*—the village of the chapmen or traders. Copmanthorpe is now an insignificant agricultural village, but, in the far-off days of which we are telling, it must have been an important commercial centre, whither farmers from all the country round resorted to do traffic with the resident chapmen. Would it not, perhaps, be in keeping with the spirit of the present age that merchant princes from modern Leeds, and Sheffield, and Bradford, should make an annual pilgrimage to this metropolis of West Riding commerce, and, erecting there an image of pure gold to her whom the Elizabethan poet, Barnfield, has taught us to call the Lady Pecunia, make obeisance before her and lay their votive offerings at her feet?

If manufacture and commerce were in their infancy when the West Riding was settled, so also was the great art of bridge-building. Of all the West-Riding place-names recorded in Domesday Book, not a single one contains the word 'bridge.' Farther to the south the word is not infrequently met with, either as the first or last element in a name, but in Yorkshire we find, instead of *-bridge*, the terminations *-ford* (or *-forth*) and *-wath*. There are no less than eighteen places on our list ending in *-ford* or *-forth*, while the Old Norse word for a ford—*vath*—is preserved in Wath-upon-Dearne and Mulwith. The Scandinavian word 'ferry' (O.N. *ferja*) appears in the Domesday Book *Ferie*, which, with the subsequent construction of a bridge, has become Ferrybridge; and at some time later than the Norman Conquest the termination *-bridge* has crept into Boroughbridge and Sowerby Bridge.[1] The evidence in all this is of course negative in character, and must not be pressed too far; but it is probably right to infer that at the time when the English settlement of Yorkshire was effected, the rivers and marshes were usually crossed by means of a ford, that the Scandinavians introduced the ferry, and that bridge-building was of a still later date.[2]

Our list of names furnishes us with some little insight into the homes and daily life of the free tribesmen of the sixth and seventh and eighth centuries. Their houses were probably, for the most part, rude constructions of clay and wattles; at any rate, a timbered house was sufficiently rare to call for the embodiment of the fact in the name of such a house or houses—Woodhouse, Wothersome—and to hand it down to us to-day as a place-name. The stockade round about the house, which has given its name to the many English Stokes—Stoke Pogis, Stoke Damerel, etc.,—was rare in Yorkshire, though it existed at Stack House, a hamlet near

1. Cf. also Pontefract.
2. There was, however, already in Old English times, a bridge across the Derwent at Stamford Bridge. This village is referred to in the various MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1066, as *Stanfordbrycge*, *Stængfordesbrycge* and *Stemfordbrygge*.

Giggleswick. Occasionally the house contained an upper storey, and then such a house was called a loft-house, *e.g.*, Lofthouse in the parish of Rothwell, and Lofthouse Hill, near Knaresborough. An interesting name, too, is Whitgift (*q.v.*). The termination is the Old Norse *gipt* or *gift*, a gift, dowry, and the name may therefore commemorate the fact that at this spot some Scandinavian suitor built for his bride a whitewashed cottage which was henceforth known to the neighbours round about as 'the white dower-house.'

Life in these early days was a serious thing, but our folk-songs tell us that dance and song and festive game entered largely into the existence of the people when work was over,[1] and our place-names bear witness to this fact. Laycock, in the parish of Keighley, owes its name to the fact that there once stood there a spreading oak-tree, around which men and maidens 'laiked' in holiday mood; while Hopperton in the parish of Allerton Mauleverer is probably 'the dancing-ground,' the far-off progenitor of all the ball-rooms and 'select dancing academies' which in these later days pour their mirth and music into the streets and squares of our market towns and provincial cities.

The place-names on our list would seem to indicate that the aesthetic sense of the English and Danish settlers in Yorkshire was not highly developed. It is true that they had an eye for colour, and noted the grayness of the tree-trunks in the wood,[2] the ruddy glow of the reeds in the marsh,[3] and the blackness of the millstone rock.[4] But beyond this evidence of colour-sense, there is little to record. Norman baron and Burgundian monk, coming to England at a later period of time, recognised to the full the beauty of our English landscape, and gave to the crag or mead on which they built their castles or their abbeys such names as Beaulieu, Beauchamp, Beauchief, Beaumont, and Belrepair (Belper). Even in bleak, wind-bitten Iceland, the hardy Norseman, fleeing thither to guard his precious birthright of freedom against the encroachments of fair-haired Harold, saw beauty of form or colour in wood and dale and river-side; and he has left behind him such names as Fagriskogr, Fagridalr and Fagribrekka as a lasting memorial of the fact that his new home found favour in his sight. But there are no such names as these in Anglo-Danish Yorkshire. The early settlers in the West Riding established their homesteads by stream and wood and meadow; hill and dale and pleasant grove became their heritage; they saw the sun, 'the heavenly candle,'[5] rise from beyond the rich corn-fields of the plain of York, and set in crimson glory behind the lordly towers of Penyghent and Ingleborough: but they cared not to leave any record of the natural beauty which it revealed to their eyes, nor ever fashioned a place-name as an enduring witness of the joy which was theirs in contemplating the grandeur or winsomeness of a land which conquest had made their own. In all this the Yorkshireman was scarcely more heedless

1. See Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*.
2. See Harewood.
3. Rawmarsh.
4. Blubberhouses.
5. O.E. *Heofon-candel*.

than his kinsfolk in other counties. The Old English adjective chiefly used to express a sense of beauty, and corresponding to the French *beau* of Beaulieu and the Norse *fagrs* of Fagridalr is *fæger* or fair ; and in the list of thirteen thousand place-names recorded in the Index to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* it occurs once ! Old English poetry, from *Beowulf* to the works of Cynewulf and his school, bears abundant witness to the fact that a sense of the beauty and grandeur of nature had entered deeply into the hearts of our early forefathers ; but apparently poetry was poetry for them, and the naming of places was prose.

7.—THE WEST RIDING AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Our story is almost told. The Norman Conquest which made so deep an impress on the political and social life of Yorkshire, as of other parts of England, has left little record of its triumphal progress upon our place-names. The only purely Norman name upon our list is Pomfret, which persists to this day as a variant of the true Latin form, Pontefract, and has gathered about it sad associations as the name of the place where the dethroned Richard met his final doom of murder. Although Norman castles rose proudly above the smoking ruins of the land which the ruthless Conqueror harried in that terrible year, 1068, the English or Scandinavian name of the places in which these castles rose—Skipton, Cawood, Tickhill, Knaresborough, Conisborough,—has in almost every instance survived. A century later a new foreign invasion came, bringing with it, not war, but peace and good-will. The Cistercian monks who came from Burgundy or Normandy in the twelfth century built their houses of prayer by lowland river and upland beck; to the crag of limestone rock which rises to the south of Maltby they gave the name Roche, and the springs of water which well forth from the earth in the valley west of Ripon they called Fountains. Meanwhile the Templars, "the poor soldiers of the Holy City," as they called themselves, were building preceptories and granges, and winning rich lands in the Riding; they have left a record of their name and their doings at Temple Hirst, and again at Temple Newsam.

Some time before the Norman Conquest the great social and economic revolution which set up serfdom and the beginnings of feudal tenure in the place of the free holdings of the first Teutonic tribes began in Yorkshire, as in other parts of England. The arrival of the Norman meant the extension of this movement, until, in course of time, England became a great network of manors, consisting partly of the lord's demesne-land, and partly of fields held in villenage. Domesday Book bears eloquent witness to the way in which, after the Conquest, these rich manors fell into the

lap of victorious Norman barons, and still to this day the presence of the feudal lord is felt. In the pride of his might he added his name to the manor over which his sovereign power extended, and Bolton became Bolton Percy; Askham, Askham Richard; Hurst, Hurst Courtney; Thorp, Thorp Audlin, and Allerton, Allerton Mauleverer. And in medieval as in modern times, trade followed the flag. In the train of the Norman baron came the Italian merchant; and the little Danish village west of Ripon, to which, because it was honoured with a temple to the living God, had been given the name of Kirkby, passed now into the hands of the Malesardi, merchant-princes of Lucca,[1] and has ever since been known as Kirkby Malzeard.

1. See *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward I. (1279-1288), p. 479.

APPENDIX.

THE TERMINATIONS OF WEST-RIDING PLACE-NAMES.

Even a hasty glance at a map of the West Riding will show that, whereas many of the place-name terminations are common to the Riding and to other parts of England, there are others which are rarely met with in the south of England; similarly, there are certain terminations which are of frequent occurrence in the south of England, but unknown within the area of the Riding.

Most of the terminations in the following list are either of English or Scandinavian origin; *-caster* and *-wick* are, however, directly or indirectly, of Latin origin, while *-don* and *-erg*—which appears in a disguised form in Golcar—are Celtic. In the case of a few terminations, it is not always easy to say whether they are English or Scandinavian in origin. Some places in the Riding, as the following pages will show more in detail, have lost their original terminations and adopted others.

-ACRE. This termination, which appears only in Onesacre, is from O.E. *æcer*, a field. The word was generally used for arable land, as distinguished from pasture, and came gradually to mean a piece of arable land of a definite size, namely that which a yoke of oxen could plough in a single day—hence, an acre.

-AX. Occurs in Kippax. From O.E. *æsc*, an ash-tree.

-AY. See -EY.

-BERGH. Occurs in Sedbergh and Thrybergh. It is from O.E. *beorg* = hill, mound, barrow.

-BIGGIN. Occurs in Arnolds Biggin. It is from Danish *byggen*, or O.N. *bygging*, = a dwelling-place, which, in its turn, is a derivation from O.N. *byggva*, also *byggja* = (i.) to build, (ii.) to inhabit.

-BOROUGH or -BURY. Occurs in Aldborough, Almondbury, Barnborough, Bilbrough, Conisborough, Dewsbury, Egborough, Goldsborough, Horbury, Kexborough, Knaresborough, Mexborough, Sprotborough, Stainborough, Worsborough; also

in the modern form of Greasborough. The form *-borough* is from O.E. *burh, buruh*; the form *-bury* from O.E. *byrig*, the dative case of *burh*. The primary meaning of O.E. *burh* is a place protected or fortified, whence, with the advance of civilisation and the growth of villages and towns, the word acquired the meaning of a town or borough. According to the New English Dictionary, the word is used in place-names in the sense of a manor-house or large farm. The O.N. form of O.E. *burh* was *borg*, and in such a name as Conisborough, in which the first element is Scandinavian, we may regard the *-borough* as descended from O.N. *borg*, rather than from O.E. *burh*.

-BOTTON. Occurs in Starbotton, and is derived from O.N. *botn* = the head of a firth, lake or dale; cognate to O.E. *botm* = a bottom.

-BRIDGE. Does not occur in any West Riding name in Domesday Book (see p. xxxi.), but appears subsequently in Boroughbridge and Ferrybridge. From O.E. *brycg* = a bridge.

-BROOK. Appears in Kelbrook, Skelbrook, Wrangbrook, and, in a corrupt form, in Greasborough. From O.E. *bróc* = a brook, stream.

-BURN. Appears in Eastburn, Fairburn, Gisburn, Glusburn, Otterburn, Ouseburn, Pickburn, Sherburn, Slaidburn, Stainburn, Winterburn. From O.E. *burna*, also *burne*, = a burn, brook, spring. Where the first element in the place-name is of Scandinavian origin—*e.g.*, Glusburn, Slaidburn—the suffix *-burn* is probably from O.N. *brunnr*, which is identical in meaning with O.E. *burne*.

-BY. As already indicated, (p. xxi.) the termination *-by* is of Danish, rather than Norse, origin, and where it occurs in Yorkshire place-names, it points to distinctively Danish settlements. The word was introduced into the north of England already in the O.E. period and appears in the Lindisfarne version of the Gospel of St. Mark (second half of tenth century) as a translation of the Latin word *domicilium*. The original sense of the word was probably a single house or small cluster of houses, out of which developed the meaning hamlet, village. It occurs in the following names: Aismunderby, Balby, Barnby, Barrowby, Cadeby, Denaby, Denby, Earby, Eastby, Ferrensby, Fixby, Flasby, Flaxby, Foulby, Haldenby, Hellaby, Kereby, Kirkby, Lumby, Maltby, Newby, Quarmby, Scawsby, Selby, Sowerby, Thorlby, Westby, Wetherby; in Battrix the termination has been lost.

-CASTER. This is the Anglo-Danish form of Latin *castrum*, plural *castra*, = a camp. The word appears in O.E. as *ceaster* or *cæstir* = 'a fortress, city, castle,' and its occurrence in place-names marks the site of a Roman camp or fortress. In the West Riding, the termination *-caster* appears in Acaster, Doncaster, Tadcaster. Outside of the region of Scandinavian influence, O.E. *ceaster* appears as *chester* or *cester;* the latter form is due to Norman-French influence.

-CLIFFE. Appears in Arncliffe, Attercliffe, Fellisciffe, Lancliffe, Rawcliffe, Roecliffe. From O.E. *clif* or O.N. *klif* = a cliff, rock.

-COTE, -COTES. Appears in Coldcotes, Skircote. From O.E. *cot* or O.N. *kot*, = a cottage.

-CROFT. Occurs in Havercroft, Scarcroft, Seacroft. From O.E. *croft* = a small field, croft.

-CROSS. Occurs in Thruscross. From O.N. *kros* = a cross, which, in its turn, is derived, through the Celtic *crós*, from the Lat. *crux, crucem*.

-DALE. Occurs in Givendale, Sandal, Wheldale, Wooldale; also in the modern forms of Arkendale and Lothersdale. From O.E. *dæl* = a dale, valley. It is possible that in Wheldale the termination is the cognate O.N. form *dalr*.

-DEN. Occurs in Barden, Buckden, Hebden, Holden, Ovenden, Riddlesden, Silsden, Skelden, Skibeden, Swinden, Wilsden; in Arkendale and Lothersdale the termination *-dale* has taken the place of the original *-den*. It is impossible to say, in the case of most of these names, whether the termination is from O.E. *denu* = a valley, or O.E. *denn* = (i.) a deep hollow between hills, (ii.) a swine-pasture in a wood. (See N.E.D. 'Den' and Middendorff, *Altenglische Flurnamen*, pp. 38-40.)

-DON. Occurs in Baildon, Rawdon, Yeadon. From O.E. *dún* = a hill, down, which is supposed to be of Celtic origin; *cf.* Old Irish *dún* = a fortified hill, fort.

-EDGE. Occurs in Liversedge. From O.E. *ecg* = edge, border.

-ERG. See Golcar.

-ET. Occurs in Chevet, Dent. It is probably an O.E. suffix, but its significance is somewhat uncertain; it may be a diminutive. See Dent.

-EY, also -AY. Occurs in Arksey, Bardsey, Embsay, Haddlesey, Hessay, Pudsey, Wibsey. This termination is from O.E. *ég*, a Mercian and Northumbrian form of West Saxon *íeg*, the meaning of which is 'an island, a piece of land near water, a water-meadow.' The word is a derivative from O.E. *éa* = water, which is cognate to the Latin *aqua*. The O.N. form is *ey*.

-FAX. See Halifax.

-FIELD. Occurs in Aldfield, Austerfield, Bradfield, Darfield, Ecclesfield, Hatfield, Heathfield, Hellifield, Huddersfield, Longfield, Markenfield, Micklefield, Mirfield, Nesfield, Ravenfield, Sheffield, Stansfield, Threshfield, Wakefield, Warmfield. From O.E. *feld* = a field.

-FLEET. Occurs in Adlingfleet, and, with the loss of *f*, in Hunslet. From O.E. *fléot* = a bay, estuary, or O.E. *fléote* = a river, stream. Both forms are connected with O.E. *fléotan* = to flow, swim, float. The position of Hunslet makes it clear that the termination is from O.E. *fléote;* the *-fleet* in Adlingfleet may be either O.E. *fléote* or O.E. *fléot*.

-FOLD. Occurs in Stotfold. From O.E. *fald* = fold, stall, stable, cattle-pen.

-FORD, -FORTH. Occurs in Aberford, Arnford, Bradford, Camblesforth, Castleford, Clifford, Dunsforth, Garforth, Gateforth, Horsforth, Keresforth, Milford, Rufforth, Sleningford, Spofforth, Stainforth; also in the older forms of Brinsworth. From O.E. *ford* = a ford across a river or marshy ground. O.E. *ford* appears as *ford* and *forth* in Middle English, and these two forms occur side by side in Yorkshire place-names; the form *forth*, with *th* for *d*, is due to Scandinavian influence.

-GARDS. Occurs in Lingards. From O.N. *garthr* = an enclosure; *cf.* Aysgarth. The *s* in *-gards* is the M.E. plural termination.

-GIFT. See Whitgift.

-GILL. Occurs in Gaisgill, Howgill, Raygill, and, by substitution, in Snaygill. *Gill* is a Norse, as distinguished from a Danish word, the O.N. form being *gil* = a ravine. The spelling 'ghyll' is a modern absurdity.

-GRAVE. Occurs in Gargrave, Orgrave. The termination *-grave* is from O.E. *græf* = a ditch, trench, grave. See also the following termination.

-GROVE. Occurs in Copgrove. From O.E. *gráf* = a grove of trees. It is possible that the termination *-grave* in Gargrave, Orgrave, goes back to O.E. *gráf*.

-(H)ALL. Occurs in Beal, Burnsall, Campsall, Elmsall, Gomersal, Hensall, Killinghall, Loversall, Newhall, Roall, Sicklinghall, Tyersall, Worrall; also in the earlier forms of Skellow, Snaygill, Snydale, Stancill, Wighill, Wilsill; perhaps also in Cattal, Kiddall, Painley. It is possible that in Sicklinghall and Newhall the termination *-hall* or *-all* goes back to O.E. *hall*, *heall* = a large covered building, palace, hall, royal residence. But in the remaining names the termination is probably O.E. *halh*, *healh* = a corner, nook, heel of land, cognate to Greek κόλπος = a fold, hollow, creek. The word is used in O.E. as a translation of the Latin *angulus*. The full termination *halh* is seen in Bede's *Streaneshalh* = Whitby—a name which survives in the place-name Strensall, near York.

-HAM. This termination, which is extremely common in the south of England, occurs only in the following place-names: Addingham, Askham, Bentham, Bilham, Bramham, Brimham, Clapham, Collingham, Farnham, Ledsham, Manningham, Meltham, Rotherham, Walkingham; also in Hubberholme, with substitution of *-holme* for *-ham*, and in the modern form of Malham. It is impossible to say in which of the above names the termination goes back to O.E. *hám* = home, house, dwelling, and in which it goes back to O.E. *hamm* = an enclosure. Dr. Middendorff is of the opinion that most of the English *-ham* place-names are from O.E. *hamm* (*Altenglische Flurnamen*, p. 64), and there can be little doubt that in such names as Bentham and Farnham, where the first element is (i.) O.E. *bconet* = bent grass, and (ii.) O.E. *fearn* = fern, the meaning is 'the enclosure (*hamm*) of bent grass' and 'the ferny enclosure.' Already in O.E. times confusion between the two forms *-hám* and *-hamm* had set in.

-HAY. Occurs, in a somewhat corrupt form, in Becca and Nappa; *cf.* Roundhay, Fotheringay. From O.E. *hæg*, *gehæg* = an enclosure, a fenced in place, and cognate to O.N. *hagi* = a hedged field. A commoner O.E. form than *hæg*, *gehæg*, is *haga*, which developes into Mod. E. *haw*; *cf.* Hawes.

-HEAD. Occurs in Hartshead. From O.E. *héafod* = a head, headland; *cf.* Gateshead.

-HILL. Occurs in Eccleshill, Farnhill, Harthill, Ryhill, Thornhill, Tickhill, Ughill; also in the modern form of Wighill. From O.E. *hyll*, *hill* = a hill.

-HOLME. Occurs in Holme, Hipperholme, and in the modern forms of Clotherholme, Hubberholme, Newsholme. From O.N. *holmr* = an island in a river, a corner of land between streams; the O.E. *holm* is used only in the sense of the sea, ocean.

-HOPE. Occurs in Bramhope, Eccup, Middop, Oxenhope. From O.E. *hop*, which is found only in compounds like the *fenhopu* of *Beowulf* (verse 765). The meaning is (i.) a piece of enclosed land in the midst of fens, marshes or other waste, (ii.) a small, enclosed valley (See N.E.D. 'Hope').

-HOUSE, -HOUSES. Occurs in Blubberhouses, Dringhouses, Lofthouse, Stack House, Woodhouse; also in the original forms of Newsam, Newsholme, Newsome, Wothersome. From O.E. *húsum*, the dative plural of *hús* = a house.

-HOW. Occurs in Carlinghow, Cracoe, Sharow, and in the older forms of Waldershelfe. From O.N. *haugr* = how, barrow, burial mound.

-ING. Occurs, either alone or in combination with some other termination, in Addingham, Arthington, Billingley, Bowling, Carlinghow, Collingham, Cottingley, Cowling, Cridling (Stubbs), Cullingworth, Darrington, Dinnington, Drighlington, Easington, Edlington, Grassington, Hartlington, Headingley, Hornington, Kellington, Killinghall, Knottingley, Manningham, Markington, Parlington, Rimington, Rossington, Shitlington, Stubbing, Swillington, Waddington, Walkingham; also in the earlier forms of Grindleton, Lotherton, Menston, Scriven and Winksley; perhaps, also, in Birkin.

The suffix *-ing*, used alone or in composition with *-ham*, *-ley*, *-ton*, etc., is one of the most difficult of English place-name suffixes, and many theories have been advanced with regard to it.

In the above list of *-ing* names the following classification may be attempted:—

(i.) *-ing* is from Danish *eng* or Frisian *inge* = a meadow near water, a word which, in the form *ing*, is found in many of the dialects of Modern English (see Wright's English Dialect Dictionary, 'Ing'). As a separate word, it appears in Bubwith Ings near Selby and Clifton Ings near York. It is probably used in this sense in Grassington; perhaps, also, in Birkin, Scriven, Stubbing.

(ii.) From O.N. *-ing*, a derivative-forming suffix. It appears in Carlinghow, O.N. *Kerlinghaugr*, from O.N. *kerling* = an old woman, a derivative from O.N. *karl* = a man.

(iii.) As an O.E. suffix, used instead of the inflexion *-an* to denote the genitive case singular of a personal name of the weak declension. Owing to the great dearth of O.E. forms of Yorkshire place-names, it is almost impossible to distinguish between this class of *-ing* names and the following class. In O.E. charters the two classes, however, are usually kept distinct, and whereas *-ing* as a variant of the genitive inflection is indeclinable, the patronymic *-ing* appears as *-inges* (gen. sing.) and *-inga* (gen. plural). This *-inga* is weakened in M.E., first of all, to *-inge*, and afterwards to *-ing*. In the following place-names the form *-inge* is not found in D. B. or later records, and some of them, though perhaps not all, go back to O.E. *-ing* as distinguished from *-inga*: Arthington, Darrington, Dinnington, Drighlington, Edlington, Grindleton, Hartlington, Hornington, Kellington, Lotherton, Manningham, Menston, Parlington, Rimington, Rossington, Shitlington, Swillington, Waddington. Thus Waddington, if its O.E. form was *Wadingtun* and not *Wadingatun* means 'the enclosure of Wada,' not 'the enclosure of *the sons* of Wada.'

(iv.) The O.E. patronymic *-inga*. This is the probable origin of the following names, and possibly of some of those mentioned under (iii.): Addingham, Billingley, Collingham, Cottingley, Cullingworth, Headingley, Killinghall, Knottingley, Walkingham. In these names the suffix *inga* may be interpreted 'the sons of,' 'the family of,' or 'the household of'; thus Collingham is the *hamm* or *hám* (enclosure or home) of the sons (or family, or household) of a man called Colla, and Knottingley is 'the clearing of the sons (or family, or household) of a man called Knotr.'

(v.) In Winksley, which is spelt *Winchingeslei* in Domesday Book, the termination *-inges* is the genitive case, singular, of the patronymic *-ing*, whereas *-inga* is the genitive plural. The meaning of Winksley is, accordingly, 'the clearing of the son of Winc, Winchelm or Wincwine.'

(vi.) The suffix *-ing* sometimes denotes the dwellers in a place. Thus in O.E. records the people of Kent are spoken of as *Centingas* and the people of York as *Eoforwicingas*. It is therefore possible that in the case of the place-name Markington the meaning is 'the enclosure of the dwellers by the mark or border' (O.E. *mearc*).

(vii.) The names Bowling and Cowling are probably of the same formation as a large number of English *ing*-names in all parts of the country. They may be compared with

names like Cooling (Kent), Tooting (Surrey), Godalming (Surrey), and Beeding (Sussex), which appear in O.E. charters under the following forms: *Culingas*, *Culingon* (for *Culingum*), *Culinga gemére*[1]; *Totinges* (for *Totingas*)[2]; (*æt*) *Godelmingum*[3]; (*æt*) *Beadingum*[4]. It is highly probable that in these names the force of the *-ing* is patronymic, and that *Culingas* means 'the family (literally, the sons) of Cula;' *Godelmingas*, 'the family of Godhelm,' *Totingas*, 'the family of Tota.' What needs special consideration in these names is the idiom whereby the name of a family is used as the name of the place where the family resides. This idiom, however, is by no means uncommon both in the case of regional names and of place-names proper. For instance, the name Wales (O.E. *Wealas*) is, rightly speaking, not a place-name at all, but the name of a people,—the *Wealas* or Welsh. Similarly such phrases as *on Eastenglum*, *on Northhymbrum*, which are frequently met with in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and which we translate 'in East-Anglia,' 'in Northumbria,' mean literally 'among the East Anglians,' 'among the Northumbrians.' Similarly in classical Greek, Delphoi means, first of all, 'the Delphians,' and then, 'the town of Delphi;' Lokroi, 'the Locrians,' and then, 'the town of Locri.' We come still nearer to the O.E. idiom in certain village-names of ancient Attica; thus names like *Titakidai*, *Semachidai*, and *Lakiadai* are formed on exactly the same plan as *Totingas*, *Godelmingas*, or *Culingas*. They are the nominative plurals of family names containing the patronymic suffix *-idē* (ιδη) which is very familiar in names like Pelopides, Atreides, etc; and their meaning is accordingly '(the place of) the family of Titakos, Semachos, or Lakias' (see Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 143). In O.E. these *ing*-names appear sometimes with the nominative plural ending *-as* (*Totingas*, *Culingas*), sometimes with the dative plural ending *-um*, governed by the preposition *æt* (at)—*æt Godelmingum;* in the case of Cooling we also find the form *Culinga gemére*, *i.e.*, 'the district of the Culingas or sons of Cula,' and such a form supplies further evidence that the *-ing* in these names has a patronymic force. We may accordingly render *Culingas* as '(the place of) the family of Cula,' *Totingas* as '(the place of) the family of Tota' and *æt Godelmingum* as 'at (the place of) the family of Godhelm.' Similarly the West Riding Cowling and Bowling may be regarded as developments of the O.E. forms *Collingas* or *æt Collingum*, *Bollingas* or *æt Bollingum*, *i.e.*, the place of the family of Colla or Bolla.

1. K.C.D., 132, 194, 499, 715, 896, 1237.
2. K.C.D., 363, 812, 846, 988.
3. K.C.D., 314, 1067.
4. B.C.S., 553.

-KELD. Occurs in Creskeld or Kirskill. From O.N. *kelda* = a spring, well.

-KIP. See Minskip.

-LACK, -LAKE. Occurs in Elslack, Fishlake. Either from O.E. *lacu* = a lake, pond, stream; or from O.N. *lækr* = a stream, brook.

-LAND. Occurs in Crosland, Elland, Greetland, Hoyland, Newland, Stainland, Thurgoland, Thurstanland. From O.E. or O.N. *land* = land, territory.

-LEY. Occurs in Allwoodley, Armley, Auckley, Austonley, Azerley, Barnsley, Batley, Beamsley, Bentley, Bewerley, Bierley, Billingley, Bingley, Bordley, Bradley, Bramley, Brierley, Burley, Calverley, Cantley, Castley, Cononley, Cottingley, Drebley, Emley, Farnley, Farsley, Frickley, Grantley, Guiseley, Headingley, Heindley, Honley, Ilkley, Keighley, Kinsley, Knottingley, Leathley, Lindley, Methley, Midgley, Morley, Otley, Pilley, Ripley, Sawley, Shelley, Shepley, Shipley, Stainley, Stanley, Staveley, Studley, Tankersley, Ulley, Utley, Wadsley, Warley, Weardley, Wheatley, Whitley, Whixley, Wickersley, Winksley, Womersley, Woolley, Wortley; also in the more primitive forms of Adel, Barlow, Bawtry, Cattal, Healaugh, Idle, Nostell; perhaps, also, in Painley and Timble. The word is from O.E. *léah*, which, in its turn, is cognate to Lat. *lucus* = a grove, and is apparently from the same root as Lat. *lux* = light. The connection of the word with the idea of light makes it probable that its original meaning was 'a clearing,' a piece of land cleared of trees or scrub and made ready for cultivation. The word is used in O.E. for a tract of open ground, either pasture or arable land, and appears in this sense in most of the above place-names. As Prof. Skeat, and the editors of the N.E.D. have pointed out, the meaning of the word has been modified through its association with the word 'lease' = O.E. *lés*, pasture, meadow-land.

-LITH. Occurs in Hanlith. From O.E. *hlith* = a hill, hill-side, slope.

-LOW. Occurs in Chellow; also in the older forms of Ardsley and Tinsley. From O.E. *hláw*, *hlǽw* = a hill, mound, barrow.

-MARSH. Occurs in Rawmarsh. From O.E. *mersc* = a swamp, marsh.

-MELL. Occurs in Rathmell. From O.N. *melr* = a sandhill.

-MYN. Occurs in Airmyn. From O.N. *minni* = a confluence of two streams. The word is cognate to O.E. *mýthe*, *gemýthe*, which has the same meaning, and occurs in Mitton and Myton. Both *minni* and *mýthe* go back to an original Germanic **munthjo* which is cognate to the word 'mouth,' O.E. *múth*, O.N. *munnr* (from an earlier *munthr*), Gothic *munths*.

-MOOR. Occurs in Carlesmoor, Kexmoor. From O.E. or O.N. *mór* = a swamp, morass, moor.

-NESS. Occurs in Reedness. From O.E. *ness*, *næss* = a cape, headland, ness.

-OCK. Occurs in Laycock. From O.E. *ác*, an oak-tree.

-ORE. Occurs in Hunsingore. From O.E. *óra* = brink, border, bank.

-OVER. Appears, in a weakened form, in Thorner. From O.E. *ófer* = border, margin, edge, river-bank.

-POLE. Occurs in Hampole. Probably from O.E. *pól* = a pool.

-RIDGE. Occurs in Cookridge. From O.E. *hrycg* = the ridge of a hill.

-SCOE. Occurs in Thurnscoe. From O.N. *skógr* = a wood, thicket. The word 'shaw' is from O.E. *scaga*, which is cognate to O.N. *skógr*.

-SET. Occurs in Ossett, Winterset; also in the older forms of Selside, and in the modern Langsett. In the case of Ossett and Winterset, the termination is O.E. *set* = a seat. In Selside—D. B. *Selesat*—the termination is probably O.N. *sætr* = mountain pastures, dairy lands.

-SHELF, also -SKELF. Occurs in Shelf, Hunshelf, Tanshelf, Ulleskelf, and, by substitution, in Waldershelf; also in the older forms of Bashall. From O.E. *scilf*, *scylf* = a peak, crag, also a tower; or O.E. *scilfe*, *scylfe* = a shelf, ledge; or from O.N. *skjalf* = a shelf, ledge, seat.

-SIDE. Occurs, in a corrupt form, in Langsett. From O.E. *side* = side, side of a hill.

-SPRING. Occurs in Oxspring. From O.E. *spring* = a spring of water.

-STALL. Occurs in Heptonstall. From O.E. *stall*, *steall* = place, position, stall for cattle.

-STATH. Occurs, in a disguised form, in Birstwith (*q.v.*). From O.E. *stæth* = shore, river-bank.

-STONE. Occurs in Anston, Featherstone, Ribston, Whiston. From O.E. *stán* = a stone.

-STOW. Occurs, in a disguised form, in Wiston. From O.E. *stów* = a place, spot.

-THORN. Occurs in Thorne, Cawthorn, Paythorne. From O.E. *thorn* = a thorn-tree, hawthorn.

-THORPE. Occurs in Addlethorpe, Armthorpe, Austhorpe, Bishopthorpe, Coneythorpe, Copmanthorpe, Cowthorpe, Ellenthorpe, Goldthorpe, Grewelthorpe, Grimthorpe, Hexthorpe, Oglethorpe, Pallethorpe, Scagglethorpe, Scosthorp, Skelmanthorpe, Streetthorpe, Wilstrop. The word *thorp* occurs in O.E. but is much more common in O.N., and in English place-names it is most often met with in the Scandinavian districts of England An examination of the above list of names shows that the first element in them is usually Scandinavian. Cleasby and Vigfusson connect O.N. *thorp* with Latin *turba*, and associate the name with "the cottages of the poorer peasantry crowded together in a hamlet, instead of each house standing in its own enclosure like the *tún* or *bœr*, or *garthr* of the *buandi*." The word *thorp* is also cognate to the Cymric *tref*, a village, found in the Welsh place-name Trefriw. The termination is frequently found in Danish place-names, more rarely in Norwegian, and more rarely still in Icelandic.

-THWAITE. Occurs in Langthwaite, Micklethwaite, Slaithwaite, and probably in the original form of Follyfoot. From O.N. *thveit*, and connected with O.E. *thwítan* = to cut. The original idea is a piece of land cut off from the adjoining land; hence, an enclosure, "an outlying farm with its paddock" (Cleasby and Vigfusson).

-TOFT. Occurs in Altofts, Eastoft, Eltofts. From O.N. *topt*, *toft* = a knoll, grassy mound. From the fact that Scandinavian farmsteads were often built on grassy mounds, the word acquired the sense of 'a piece of ground with a homestead upon it.'

-TON. This is by far the commonest of West-Riding place-name terminations, and is found in no less than one hundred and ninety of the names dealt with in this volume. In most cases the *-ton* goes back to O.E. *tún*, but in some instances, *e.g.*, Coniston, to O.N. *tún*. O.E. and O.N. *tún* are identical in origin and meaning, the primary idea being an enclosure, something enclosed by a hedge or fence. These enclosures, as such a name as Bolton indirectly indicates, need not at first have had a building of any kind upon them, though in many instances there was probably from the outset a homestead of some sort there, which became the nucleus of a hamlet, village, or market-town.

-UM. This is the O.E. inflexion for the dative plural of all nouns. It is more or less preserved in the modern forms Burn, Byram, Hallam, Hillam, Owram, Ripon; also, in a corrupt form, in Acomb. See also Clotherholme, Hipperholme.

-WATH. See Mulwith.

-WELL. Occurs in Bracewell, Braithwell, Kettlewell, Rothwell, Shadwell, Wombwell. From O.E. *well*, *wiell*, *wielle* = spring, fountain, well.

-WICK or -WIKE. Occurs in Adwick, Appletreewick, Austwick, Barnoldswick, Barwick, Eldwick, Giggleswick, Hardwick, Hawkswick, Heckmondwike, Hewick, Keswick, Kildwick, Nunwick, Todwick, Westwick, Wilsick; perhaps in Raistrick. From O.E. *wic*, cognate to O.Sax. *wík*, and derived from Latin *vicus*. In such a word as Barwick, in which the first element is O.E. *bere* = barley, the meaning of *wick* is a store-house, barn; but in most of the other names it is probable that *wick* is used in the sense of a dwelling-place, collection of houses, hamlet, village. The O.N. *vík* = a creek, is a different word, which appears as *wick* in Anglo-Danish creek-names, and in certain coast-settlements situated in some creek or bay; *e.g.*, Sandwick and Lerwick in the Shetland Islands. In such a name as Austwick, where the first element is Scandinavian, it is evident that the O.E. word *wic* was borrowed by the Scandinavian settlers in England. In the midlands and south O.E. *wic* usually appears as *-wich* as a termination; *e.g.*, Norwich, Greenwich.

-WITH. Occurs in Askwith, Beckwith, Bramwith, Tockwith; also, by substitution, in the modern forms of Birstwith, Mulwith. From O.N. *vithr* = a tree, wood; cognate to O.E. *wudu* = a wood.

-WOOD. Occurs in Cawood, Harewood, Haslewood, Whitwood. From O.E. *wudu* = a wood.

-WORTH. Occurs in Ackworth, Badsworth, Birchworth, Brodsworth, Cartworth, Cudworth, Cullingworth, Cumberworth, Cusworth, Dodworth, Handsworth, Hawksworth, Haworth, Hemsworth, Hepworth, Holdworth, Ingbirchworth, Kimberworth, Oakworth, Rishworth, Saddleworth, Tudworth, Wadsworth, Wadworth, Warmsworth, Wentworth, Wigglesworth. From O.E. *worth*, *wurth*, *weorth*, *wyrth* = an enclosed place, an enclosed homestead. (See Bosworth-Toller). In Brinsworth the termination *-worth* replaces an earlier *-ford*.

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Zosimus. Novae Historiae; see Monumenta Historica Britannica.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(For fuller particulars as to book-titles, see under List of Authorities.)

A.G.R.	Archbishop Gray's Register.
B.C.S.	Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum.
B.M.E.	Burton's Monasticon Eboracense.
C.B.	Camden's Britannia.
C.B.K.	Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey.
C.B.S.	Coucher Book of Selby.
C.C.	Calverley Charters.
C.C.R.	Calendar of Charter Rolls.
C.Cl.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls.
C.I.P.M.	Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem.
C.P.R.	Calendar of Papal Registers.
D.B.	Domesday Book for Yorkshire, ed. Skaife.
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society.
F. of Y.	Freemen of York (Register of).
Gerv. of Cant. ..	Gervase of Canterbury.
Hist. Ch. Y. ..	Historians of the Church of York.
K.I.	Kirkby's Inquest, etc.
Kn. W.	Knaresborough Wills.
M.E.	Middle English [circ. 1150–1500].
Mod. E.	Modern English [since 1500].
M.F.	Memorials of Fountains Abbey.
O.D.	Old Danish.
O.E.	Old English [down to 1150].
O.F.	Old French.
O. Fris.	Old Frisian.
O.H.G.	Old High German.
O.N.	Old Norse.
P.C.	Pontefract Chartulary.
P.Q.W.	Placita de quo Warranto.
P.R.	Pipe Roll Society's Publications.
P.T.	Poll Tax [2 Richard II.].
R.A.G.	Register of Archbishop Giffard.
R.C.A.	Ripon Chapter Acts.
R.H.	Rotuli Hundredorum.

R. of C.	Richard of Cirencester.
R.W.W.	Register of William Wickwane.
S.S.	Surtees Society.
T. de N.	Testa de Nevill.
T.E.	Testamenta Eboracensia.
V.E.	Valor Ecclesiasticus (vol. v.).
W.C.R.	Wakefield Court Rolls.
Y.A.S.	Yorkshire Archaeological Society.
Y.A.T.A. ..	Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association.
Y.D.	Yorkshire Deeds.
Y.F.	Yorkshire Fines.
Y.I.	Yorkshire Inquisitions.
Y.L.S.	Yorkshire Lay Subsidies.

WEST-RIDING PLACE-NAMES.

ABERFORD.

Hugo de Ædburgforth (P.R., xxvi., 76 [1176]).

Hugo de Ædburford (P.R., xxv., 114 [1175]).

Wester de Adburford (P.R., xxv., 116 [1175]).

Aberford, Abirford, Abberford (K.I., 287, 348, 418, [1285–1316]).

There is no mention of Aberford in Domesday Book, but the spellings of the name recorded in the Pipe Roll make the meaning fairly clear. The forms *Ædburgforth*, *Ædburford*, lead us back to the O.E. personal name *Eadburh*, the gen. sing. of which—*Eadburge* —gives us *Eadburgeford* as the original form of Aberford. Eadburh is a distinguished female name in Old English history; it is the name of a daughter of the Mercian king, Offa, and occurs three times in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. With the assimilation of *db* to *bb* in this name, *cf. Abberbury*, a M.E. spelling of Adderbury (Oxon.), which appears as *Eadburgebyrig* in a tenth century charter of Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (No. 1290). Situated at the point where what we now call the Great North Road crosses Cock Beck, Aberford owes its name to the ford which a lady called Eadburh caused to be made across the stream at this point.

ACASTER MALBIS.

Acastra, Acastre (D.B., 126, 219 [1086]).

Acastre (A.G.R., 22 [1225–1255]).

Acastre (C.C.R., iii., 63 [1300–1326]).

Acastre Malebis, Malbys, Malebys (K.I., 23, 217, 289, 343 [1285–1316]).

ACASTER SELBY.

Acastra, Acastre (D.B., 90, 126, 172 [1086]).

Acastre Seleby, Selby (K.I., 23, 223, 291 [1285–1316]).

Acaster Selby (P.T. [1379]).

Acaster is a name of great antiquity, and has undergone very little change of form since the eleventh century. The termination *caster*, when found in English place-names, always indicates the site of a Roman *castrum* or fortress (see Introduction, p. xxxvii.). The

first part of the name may be O.E. *ác* (or O.N. *eik*, M.E. *aik*) = an oak-tree, which would give *Accæster* as the O.E. form of Acaster, the meaning being "the Roman fortress by the oak-tree." But it is also possible that the first element in the name is some pre-English word, the original form and meaning of which are unknown to me. The distinguishing name Malbis is from the Malbys family, which lived there for some centuries after the Conquest (see Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 384). Acaster Selby is so called from the fact that it was for a long time in the hands of the abbots of Selby.

ACKTON.

Clibernus de Acton (P.R., xxvi., 79 [1176]).

Aitone (D.B., 110, 217 [1086]).

Ayketon, Aicton (C.B.K., 23, 149 [n.d.]).

Ayketon, Aketon (K.I., 228, 292 [1285–1316]).

In the Index to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Acton in Suffolk appears as *Acantun*, but Acton Beauchamp as *Actun*. O.E. *Acantun* means "the enclosure of a man called Aca," while O.E. *Actun* is "the enclosure by the oak-tree." The Yorkshire Acton is probably identical with the second of these two forms. The modern spelling and that of the Pipe Roll point back to O.E. *ác* = the oak-tree, but the D.B. form *Aiton* (for *Aicton*) and the *Aicton, Ayketon* of the Kirkstall Coucher Book show the influence of O.N. *eik* (M.E. *aik*), the Scand. form of O.E. *ác*.

ACKWORTH.

Aceuurde (D.B., 104, 215 [1086]).

Akeworth, Akewrth (A.G.R., 88 [1225–1255]).

Acworth (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The medial *e* in the D.B. and other early spellings of Ackworth indicates that this name goes back to O.E. *Acanwurth* = the enclosure or homestead of Aca, and not to O.E. *Acwurth* = the enclosure by the oak-tree (see *Ackton*).

ACOMB.

Achu', Acum, Acun (D.B., 39, 187, 220 [1086]).

Acum (C.C.R., ii., 255 [1257–1300]).

Achu' (P.Q.W., 224 [1279–81]).

Acom (V.E., 17 [1535]).

Quintin Acomb (F. of Y., ii., 243, [1735]).

The modern spelling of this name seems to connect it with O.E. *cumb* = a hollow in a hill-side. But the older forms of the name show clearly that such a connection is erroneous. The old form *Acum* is probably the dative plural (*ácum*) of O.E. *ác* = an oak-tree ; and the full form of Acomb in O.E. would have been *æt thém ácum* = at the oaks. O.E. long *a* has in the South and Midlands become long *o*, but in Yorkshire, and the counties north of Yorkshire, this development of long *a* to long *o* did not take place. The hamlet of Oaken, in Staffordshire, looks like the Midland form of the Northern *Acum, Acomb*, while Oake, in Somersetshire, is spelt *Acon* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 897).

ADDINGHAM.

Addingeham (Simeon of Durham, i., 225 [c. 1130]).

Adingham (K.I., 13, 191, 357 [1285–1316]).

Adyngham (C.C.R., iii., 459 [1300–1326]).

Haddincham (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Edidha', Ediham, Odingehem, Odingehen (D.B., 28, 30, 161, 222, 224 [1086]).

The D.B. forms of this name are obviously corrupt, and the form *Haddincham* of Birch's Charter, though early, is without support. The most primitive of the forms above is the *Addingeham* of Simeon of Durham's *Epistola de Archiepiscopis Eboraci*, and this points back to O.E. *Addingaham* as the original spelling of the name. Here the middle syllable *-ing* is the patronymic (see Introduction, p. xli.), and the termination is probably O.E. *hám* = home. The meaning of Addingham is accordingly " the home of the family of Adda." Adda is a fairly common O.E. personal name, and was borne by a sixth century king of Bernicia.

ADDLETHORPE.

Ardulfestorp, Arduluestorp, Adulfestorp (D.B., 28, 182, 222 [1086]).

Addlethorp (Jefferys' Topograph. Survey [1772]).

Addlethorpe owes its name either to the O.E. personal name *Eardwulf, Ardwulf*, or, less probably, to some O.N. cognate form of *Ardwulf*. The original form of the name would be *Ardwulfesthorp*, which means " the village of Ardwulf." Addlethorpe, in Lincolnshire, also appears as *Ardulvestorp* in Domesday Book, *Ardelthorp* in the *Feudal Aids* (iii., 320 [1428]), and *Adelthorp* in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291. The Yorkshire Addlethorpe, of which early spellings are hard to find, probably passed through the same sound-changes as that in Lincolnshire.

ADEL.

Adele (D.B., 65, 211 [1086]).

Adela (C.B.K., 81 [n.d.]).

Adele (C.B.K., 80 [1204]).

Adell, Adle, Adlekyrk, Aldewik (K.I., 40, 41, 208, 348 [1285–1316]).

Adel (C.B.K., 10 [1204]).

The spellings *Adlekirk* and *Aldewik*—the latter probably a metathesized form of *Adlewik*—are late and without support, and there can be little doubt that the true M.E. form of Adel was *Adela* or *Adele*. It is probable that these forms go back to an O.E. *Adanleah*. The O.E. termination *-léah* often appears as *-le* in Domesday Book, *e.g.*, *Gisele* = Guiseley, but the coalescence of the O.E. *-léah* with the preceding syllable is less common. Bootle in Lancashire, however, of which the D.B. spelling is *Boltelai*, and Trendle in Somerset (O.E. *Trendeleah* [K.C.D. 587]), furnish us with clear instances of this form of apocope. See also Idle, Kiddal, and note *Birel* and *Byrill* as M.E. forms of Bierley (*q.v.*). The meaning of Adel is accordingly "the lea of Ada." Ada is found as an O.E. personal name on a coin in the British Museum, and in a charter of Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (No. 1130).

ADLINGFLEET.

Adelingesfluet (D.B., 155, 216 [1086]).

Adthelingflet (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Adlingflet (C.C.R., ii., 27 [1257–1300]).

Adlingfleet, which lies close to the mouth of the original channel of the river Don, preserves in its first element the O.E. word *æthéling* = a prince, a member of a noble family. The termination is O.E. *flēot* = a place where vessels float, an arm of the sea, estuary, river. The meaning of Adlingfleet is therefore "the prince's river," or "the prince's estuary," and the O.E. form of the name would be *Æthelingesfleot*.

ADWICK-UPON-DEARNE.

Adeuuic, Hadeuuic (D.B., 118, 213 [1086]).

Addewyke (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1257–1300]).

Addewyk (K.I., 365 [1285–1316]).

ADWICK-LE-STREET.

Adeuuic, Adeuuinc, Hadeuuic (D.B., 70, 122, 205, 214 [1086]).

Adewic, Athewyk (C.C.R., ii., 120, 388 [1257–1300]).

Athewik, Athewyk, Adwyk (K.I., 232, 283, 366 [1285–1316]).

Adewic, *Addewyke*, *Addewyk*, are the most trustworthy M.E. forms of Adwick, and they point back to an O.E. *Adanwic*, or *Addanwic* = the dwelling-place of Ada, or Adda. Both these personal names are recorded in Searle's *Onomasticon;* see Addingham and Adel.

Adwick-le-Street, or Adwick-in-the-Street, owes its distinguishing name to the fact that it is situated on the Roman road (*strata via*) from Doncaster to Tadcaster.

AIRMYN, or ARMIN.

Ayremyn (K.I., 367 [1285–1316]).

Ayreminne (C.C.R., iii., 113 [1300–1326]).

John de Ayremine (C.B.S., i., 47 [1319]).

Ermenia, Ermenie (D.B., 154, 212 [1086]).

Dr. Henry Bradley drew attention to this place-name some years ago, and pointed out that the termination *-min* or *-myn* is the O.N. *minni* = the confluence of two streams (for further details see Introduction, p. xliv). The termination is rare in England, but in an early Charter Roll (C.C.R., ii., 444), mention is made of a place called "Nidderminne in Beningbrough," which was evidently situated at the confluence of the Nidd and Ouse. Airmyn lies at the confluence of the Aire and Ouse.

AIRTON.

Airtone (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Ayerton, Ayreton, Ayrton (K.I., 15, 189, 356 [1285–1316]).

Airton is the enclosure (O.E. *tún*) by the river Aire. The river-name Aire is probably Celtic.

AISMUNDERBY.

Asmundrebi, Hashundebi (D.B., 42, 132, 221, 223 [1086]).

Asmunderby (K.I., 47, 204, 294 [1285–1316]).

Asmondreby (C.C.R., iii., 183 [1300–1326]).

Asmunderby (R.C.A., 6 [1452]).

Aismunderby is a place-name which discloses its Scandinavian origin in every syllable. *Asmundar* is the gen. sing. of the O.N. personal name *Asmundr*, the English form of which is Osmund; and the meaning of Aismunderby is, accordingly, "the farmstead or village of Asmundr." The personal name Asmundr appears in the Icelandic *Asmundarleidi* (= Osmund's grave) of the *Landnamabok*, ii., 6, and in the *Aasmundstad*, *Aasmundtveit*, *Aasmundrud* of modern Norway. *Osmotherley*, in the North Riding, shows the same name in an anglicised and corrupted form.

AKETON.

Aketon, Haketon (K.I., 203, 293 [1285–1316]).

Aykton (B.M.E., 281 [n.d.]).

See Ackton. The constituent elements are probably O.N. *eik*, M.E. *aik* = the oak-tree, and O.E. or O.N. *tún* = an enclosure; hence, "the enclosure by the oak-tree." But it is also possible that the first element is the O.E. personal name Aca, or the O.N. personal name Aki.

ALDBOROUGH.

Ἰσούριον (Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia* [A.D. 120]).

Isurium (Antonine's Itinerary [A.D. 100–200]).

Burg, Burc (D.B., 14, 27, 184 [1086]).

Aldeburgh, Vetus Burgh (K.I., 211, 353 [1285–1316]).

The English settlers made no attempt to preserve the Romano-Celtic name *Isurium*, and were content to call the place simply *seo burh* (= the fortress) or *seo alde burh* (the ancient fortress), from which the modern form, Aldborough, is descended. In the form *Vetus Burgh* we see an attempt to recall the Roman associations of the once famous city. Professor Anwyl informs me that "it is not improbable that Isurium meant 'the homestead of a man called Isurios,'" and adds that "Isuria appears as a woman's name on an inscription at Langres, in France."

ALDFIELD.

Aldefeld, Aldefelt (D.B., 28, 41, 184 [1086]).

Aldefeld, Aldfeld (K.I., 46, 204, 294 [1285–1316]).

Aldefelde, Aldfeld (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9, 16 [1312]).

Aldfield means "the old field or pasture." The first syllable, *ald*, is the Mercian and Northumbrian form of the West Saxon *eald* (= old). The medial *e* points to the weak form of the adjective, used whenever the definite article was prefixed—O.E. *se alda feld*, *in thém aldan felda* = the old field, in the old field.

ALLERTON, par. Bradford.

Alreton, Alretune (D.B., 114, 116, 218 [1086]).

Allerton (K.I., 226, 361 [1285–1316]).

Alerton (P.T. [1379]).

ALLERTON BYWATER.

Alverton juxta aquam, Alirton, Allerton (K.I., 35, 208, 286 348 [1285–1316]).

Alretune (D.B., 35, 81 [1086]).

Allerton (Y.I., i., 55 [1258]).

Allerton juxta aquam (C.B.K., 349 [n.d.]).

ALLERTON GLEDHOW.

Alretun (D.B., 98, 210 [1086]).

Allerton, Allerton Gledhowe, Allirton Gledhow (K.I., 34, 208, 286 [1285–1316]).

Allerton Gledhowe (C.B.K., 268 [1332]).

ALLERTON MAULEVERER.

Alureton, Alvertone (D.B., 27, 181, 199 [1086]).

Alverton (Y.I., i., 202 [1279]).

Alverton, Allirton (K.I., 33, 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Allerton is an extremely common Yorkshire place-name, and it is generally thought that it takes its name from the alder-tree (O.E. *alr*, *alor*), and means "the enclosure by the alder." This is probably true in the case of Allerton in the parish of Bradford, and Allerton Gledhow. But such spellings as *Alverton* and *Alureton*, when read in the light of *Aluuarestorp* and *Alurestain*—the D.B. spellings of Allerthorp and Allerston respectively—indicate that this is not always the case. It is probable that a personal name is concealed in Allerton Mauleverer and Allerton Bywater. This name may have been *Alward*, which is another form of *Ælfweard*, or *Ælfhere*, or something still more remote.

The distinguishing surnames attached to the Yorkshire Allertons present no difficulty. Allerton Bywater owes its name to its position on the bank of the Aire; Mauleverer is the name of a Norman family that acquired land in the place which bears the family name; Gledhow is "the kite's hill," being compounded of O.N. *gletha* = a kite, and O.N. *haugr* = a how, hill.

ALMONDBURY.

Alemanebiri (C.C.R., i., 357 [1226–1257]).

Almaneberie (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

Almanbiri (C.C.R., ii., 436, [1257–1300]).

Almanbury (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Almanbery (P.T. [1379]).

Almandbury (Dodsworth MS. [1393]).

Almondbury (Dodsworth MS. [1425]).

A study of the above forms will show that the spelling of Almondbury with medial *d* is not original, and that the earliest forms are *Alemanebiri* and *Almaneberie*. It is therefore impossible to associate Almondbury with the O.E. personal name Alhmund or Ealhmund, which appears in Almondsbury (Glos.), and in the unidentified *Ealmundes treow* of K.C.D., 404. The probability is that the forms *Alemanebiri* and *Almaneberie* go back to O.E. *Alemannabyrig*, and that the meaning of Almondbury is "the fortified town of the Germanic tribe of the Alemanni." Further arguments in favour of this view will be found in the Introduction, p. ix.

ALTOFTS.

Toftes (D.B., 119, 213 [1086]).

Altoftes (P.C., i., 18 [1090]).

Altofts, Alcotes (K.I., 33, 351 [1285–1316]).

In D.B. Altofts was simply *Toftes, i.e.*, the homesteads. But as early as 1090 we find the name with the distinguishing prefix *Al-*. It is possible that this *Al-* is for O.E. *eald, ald*, with the loss of *d* before *t;* this would give "the old homesteads" as the meaning of Altofts. But it is more probable that *Al-* stands for the O.N. personal name Ali which appears in the Norwegian place-names Aalset, Aalton, Aalrust, etc. (see Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne*, p. 4). The form *Alcotes* shows the substitution of O.E. *cot* = a cottage, for the Scandinavian *topt, toft.*

ALLWOODLEY.

Gamel de Adelwaldesleia (P.R., ix., 46 [1165]).

Henricus de Adelwaldeleia (C.B.K., 205 [n.d.]).

Gamel de Alwoldeslea (P.R., xi., 84 [1166]).

Aluuoldelei (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Alwaldelay (C.C.R., i., 451 [1226–1257]).

Alwaldeley, Alwaldley, Alwadley (K.I., 41, 209, 287 [1285–1316]).

Alwoodley (Speed's Map of Yorkshire, 1610).

The various spellings of Allwoodley, as given above, furnish an interesting study of sound-change. The earlier of the two forms of Gamel of Allwoodley's name indicates clearly that this place-name goes back to O.E. *Æthelwaldesleah* = the lea of Æthelwald. Æthelwald or Æthelwold is a famous name in early English story and is borne by kings, ealdormen and bishops; it enters freely into the formation of place-names in Kemble's Codex, *e.g.*, *Æthelwoldes lea* (1289), *Æthelwoldes beorh* (1121), *Æthelwoldes mearc* (487).

ANSTON (NORTH).

Anestan (D.B., 117, 127, 212 [1086]).

Anestan (C.C.R., i., 146 [1226–1257]).

Anestan, Anstan (C.C.R., ii., 93, 265 [1257–1300]).

ANSTON (SOUTH).

Litelanstan, Litelastone (D.B., 117, 212 [1086]).

Southanestan (C.C.R., iii., 289 [1300–1325]).

Anston probably owes its name to the O.E. phrase, *se ána stán* = the single stone, the solitary stone. The name may be compared with that of Anstey in Herts and Devonshire which appears as *Anestige* in Domesday Book and is compounded out of O.E. *án*, *ána* = one and O.E. *stíg* = a track, path. The meaning of Anstey is accordingly "a path for one person, a bridle-path," *cf. to readan anstigan* = to the red bridle-path (B.C.S., 622). Ainsty, the name of the Yorkshire wapentake, is another form of Anstey, O.E. *án* often appearing as *ain* in the northern dialect, probably through the influence of O.N. *einn* = one.

APPLETON ROEBUCK.

Æppeltun (B.C.S., iii., 578 [c. 972]).

Apeltone, Apletone (D.B., 175, 219 [1086]).

Appelton, Appylton, Apelton (K.I., 29, 217, 289 [1285–1316]).

APPLETON (NUN).

Apelton Super Querfe (K.I., 367 [1285–1316]).

Nunappleton (Leland's Itinerary, i., 44 [1538]).

Birch's Charter supplies us with the O.E. form of Appleton, formed out of O.E. *æppel* + O.E. *tún*. The meaning is "the enclosure by the appletree," but it is well to point out that in O.E. the word *æppel* was used for any kind of fruit; *cf.* Appleby, Appleford, Applehurst, etc. In Nun Appleton we have an indication of the settlement here of a body of Cistercian nuns in the reign of Stephen, while the name Roebuck is probably a personal name. It appears under the form Rabuk as the name of an inhabitant of Appleton Roebuck in the Poll Tax of 1379, but the bearer of the name was only a peasant.

APPLETREEWICK.

Apletrewic (D.B., 195 [1086]).

Appeltrewik (C.C.R., ii., 208 [1257–1300]).

Appletrewick, Apeltrewyk, Appiltrewik (K.I., 15, 191, 196, 357 [1285–1316]).

This name is formed out of O.E. *æppeltréow* = the fruit-tree, apple-tree, and O.E. *wíc* = dwelling-place; the meaning is therefore "the dwelling-place by the fruit (apple) tree." The usual O.E. word for an apple-tree was *apulder*, *apuldor*, whence comes the place-name Appledore.

ARDSLEY.

Erdeslauue, Erdeslau (D.B., 113, 218 [1086]).

Ardeslawe, Erdeslawe, Erdeslowe, Herdelaw (K.I., 30, 225, 280, 361 [1285–1316]).

Erdeslawe (C.B.S., i., 310 [1194–1237]).

Erdesleye, (Y.I., i., 111 [1269]).

Ardesley (V.E., 43 [1535]).

The older forms of Ardsley show that the original ending was not *-ley* (O.E. *léah* = clearing, lea), but *-low* (O.E. *hláw* = a mound). The first element in Ardsley is the gen. case of *Eard-*, *Ard-*, which enters freely into the formation of compound personal names, *e.g.*, Eardwulf, Eardred, etc. It is probable that Ardsley is the modern form of O.E. *Eardwulfeshlaw* = the mound—perhaps the burial-mound—of Eardwulf. In support of this derivation, reference may be made to Ardley in Oxfordshire, which appears as *Eardulfes lea* in K.C.D., 1289, and as *Ardulveslie* in D.B. The name Eardwulf or Eardulf appears, under the forms *Ardulf* and *Ardul*, as that of a Yorkshire land-holder in Domesday Book; *cf.* Addlethorpe.

ARKENDALE.

Archedene, Arghendene (D.B., 28, 172, 221 [1086]).

Ricardus de Erkeden', (P.R., xxvi., 79 [1176]).

Erkenden, Herkenden (K.I., 205, 353 [1285–1316]).

Arkenden (C.C.R., ii., 293 [1257–1300]).

Arkyndale (V.E., 236 [1535]).

In this name we see that by Henry VIII.'s reign the termination *-dale* was creeping in for the older *-den*, *-dene*, which goes back either to O.E. *denu* = a valley, or to O.E. *denn* = a swine-pasture. The first element in the name is one of the personal names compounded with *Earcon-* or *Eorcon-*. Eorcongær appears as the name of a landholder in Domesday Book, and a person of this name apparently gives his name to Arkengarthdale in the North Riding, which probably goes back to O.E. *Earcongæresdale*, with the later substitution of the O.N. word *garthr* = an enclosure, for the earlier *-gæres*. Other O.E. compounds with *Eorcon-*, *Earcon-*, are Eorconbeorht, Eorconbrand, Eorconbeald. Compounds with *Ercan-* are extremely common in Old High German, *e.g.*, Ercanfrid, Ercangar, Ercanhart, Ercanbold, etc.; *cf.* the O.H.G. place-name *Erchanprunnin*, mentioned by Förstemann in his *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*.

ARKSEY.

Archesei, Archeseia (D.B., 121, 215 [1086]).

Arkexea (R.A.G., 38 *n.*, [1266–1279]).

Arkesay, Arksesay (K.I., 6, 9, 232 [1285–1316]).

Although I have not found such a M.E. form of Arksey as *Arkelsey*, I am disposed to regard the first element in the name as the O.E. personal name Arcil or Earcytel, or its O.N. equivalent Arkil or Arnketill. This is a common name in O.E. and Scand. records, and it appears as the name of a Yorkshire landowner in Domesday Book. The termination is O.E. *ég* = a water-meadow, and the meaning of the whole is accordingly "the water-meadow of Arcil or Arnketill."

ARMLEY.

Ermelai (D.B., 113, 218 [1086]).

Ermeleia (C.B.K., 64 [n.d.]).

Armelay (K.I., 38, 224, 279 [1285–1316]).

Armelay (C.B.K., 230 [1300]).

Ermelai, the M.E. form of Armley, probably goes back to an earlier *Eormenleah*, in which the first element is the O.E. personal theme *Eormen-*, which enters into the composition of a number of O.E. personal names, *e.g.*, Eormenburh, Eormenfrith, Eormenhild, Eormenlaf, Eormenric, etc. The meaning of Armley, if the above interpretation is correct, is "the clearing of Eormenburh, Eormenric, or Eormenhild."

ARMTHORPE.

Ernulfestorp, Einuluestorp (D.B., 186, 214 [1086]).

Ernethorpe (R.A.G., 254 [1266–1279]).

Arnethorpe (C.C.R., i., 353 [1226–1257]).

Arenthorp, Arnethorp (K.I., 2, 231, 358 [1285–1316]).

Armethorp (A.G.R., 79 [1225–1255]).

The spellings of Armthorpe in Domesday Book show that it derives its origin from a personal name. The form *Einulues* is Scandinavian, being the gen. case of the O.N. Einulfr, later Einulf or Einolf, and the name Einulf appears as that of a Yorkshire landholder in D.B. The spelling *Ernulfes*, on the other hand, goes back to O.E. Earnwulf, which also appears as a Yorkshire landholder's name in D.B. under the form Ernulf. Of the two forms, Einulf and Ernulf, the latter is the one which has developed into modern Armthorpe through the intermediate forms *Ernethorpe*, *Arnethorpe*, *Armethorpe*. The meaning of Armthorpe is accordingly "the village of Earnwulf." It is quite possible that the *Einuluestorp* of D.B. is merely a scribal error for *Ernuluestorp*.

ARNECLIFFE.

Arneclif (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Arnecliff, Arneclyfe (K.I., 20, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

Arneclif (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1300–1325]).

The first element in this name may be the O.E. *earn*, *arn* = an eagle, or it may be the O.E. personal name Earna, or, again, the Scandinavian personal name Arni. We have accordingly to choose between "the eagle's cliff" and "the cliff of Earna or Arni." Arnkleiv in Norway is, according to the late Professor Rygh, the cliff of Arni, and the occurrence of the medial *e* in the early spellings of Arnecliffe favours the view that the first element is a personal name.

ARNFORD.

Erneforde (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Arneford (K.I., 202 [1285–1316]).

Arnefurth (V.E., 253 [1535]).

As eagles are not in the habit of using fords, there is no need to connect Arnford with O.E. *earn*, an eagle (see Arncliffe). Moreover, the D.B. spelling *Erneforde* excludes the Scandinavian personal name Arni, and there is left only the O.E. personal name *Earna*. The O.E. form of Arnford was probably *Earnanford* (= the ford of Earna). The personal name Earna, which is borne by a Yorkshire landholder in D.B., is the contracted form of one of the O.E. *Earn*-compounds, *e.g.*, Earnwig, Earnwulf, Earnbeorn, etc.

ARNOLDS BIGGIN.

Arnald-Byging (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

Arnolds Biggin is a pure Scandinavian name. The word *biggin*, which still exists in northern dialects, is the O.N. *bygging*, Danish *byggen* = a habitation, dwelling-place, formed from the O.N. verb *byggva* or *byggja* = to build. The name Arnold goes back to the O.N. *Arnaldr*, and it appears in the Icelandic *Landnamabok* in the place-name *Arnallstadir* (iv., 3).

ARTHINGTON.

Ardinton, Hardinctone (D.B., 65, 211 [1086]).

Peter de Arthingtun (C.C., 1 [temp. Hen. II. or Ric. I.]).

Arthington Arthyngton (K.I., 40, 141, 208 [1285–1316]).

Herdyngton, Herdeington, Erthington (C.C.R., iii., 149, 164, 167 [1300–1326]).

Although early spellings of Arthington with initial *h* are by no means rare, the forms without the *h* are the rule; and it seems

probable that in the first element of Arthington we have one of the many O.E. personal names compounded with *Ard-* or *Eard-*, *e.g.*, Eardwulf, Eardred. The form Eardwulf is perhaps the commonest of these; it appears as Artholf in a list of Yorkshire names of the early eleventh century (*Blandinger*, i., 62), and under the form of Ardulf as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. I would suggest, therefore, that the O.E. form of Arthington was *Eardwulfingtun*, the meaning being "the enclosure of Eardwulf." On the signification of the suffix *-ing*, see Introduction, pp. xl.–xlii.

ASKHAM BRIAN.

Ascham (D.B., 90, 207 [1086]).

Ascam Bryan, Askam, Askham Brian (K.I., 26, 222, 343 [1285–1316]).

Askeham, Hascham, Ascham (C.C.R., iii., 147, 153 [1300–1326]).

Askham Brian (P.T. [1379]).

ASKHAM RICHARD.

Ascam, Ascha' (D.B., 176, 206, 219 [1086]).

West Ascam, Askam, Askham (K.I., 26, 219, 290, 343 [1285–1316]).

West Ascham (Y.I., ii., 51, 111 [1286]).

Askham Richard (P.T. [1379]).

While recognising that Aski is a common O.N. personal name, which enters into the composition of the Norwegian place-names Askerud, Askestad, I am disposed to think that Askham owes its name not to O.N. *Aski* but to O.N. *askr* = the ash-tree. The termination is O.E. *hamm* = an enclosure, and the meaning of Askham is accordingly "the enclosure by the ash-tree." The surname in Askham Richard seems to be derived from Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who held large possessions in Yorkshire in the thirteenth century, while Bryan appears as the name of a Yorkshire family in the Hundred Roll of the year 1273.

ASKWITH.

Ascvid (D.B., 95, 132, 183 [1086]).

Ascwyth, Askwith, Askewith (K.I., 44, 203, 293 [1285–1316]).

Askwyth (C.C., 146 [1320]).

This is a pure Scandinavian name, built up of O.N. *askr* = the ash-tree and O.N. *vithr* = the tree, the wood. The modern village of Askwith may owe its name to a single ash-tree, or to a grove of ash-trees, an ash-wood. The personal name Asquith is Askwith with the substitution of the Norman French symbols *qu* for the Norse *kv*.

ASTON.

Estone (D.B., 69, 127, 214 [1086]).

Aston (A.G.R., 114 [1225–1255]).

Aston (K.I., 6, 9, 230 [1285–1316]).

The forms *Estone* and *Aston* point back to O.E. *Easttun* = the eastern enclosure. A study of the Index to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* shows that O.E. *Easttun* appears in modern English sometimes as Easton, sometimes as Aston.

ATTERCLIFFE.

Will Atteclyff (Y.I., i., 264 [1261]).

Ateclive (D.B., 122, 215 [1086]).

Roger of Atterclive (Y.I. iii., 48 [1296]).

Atterclyf (V.E., 174 [1535]).

Attercliffe is a development from O.E. *æt thǽm clife*, the M.E. form of which would be *at the clif*, or *atteclif*, the meaning being "at the cliff." The *r* in Attercliffe is intrusive, perhaps introduced on anology with such a name as Atterbury, the O.E. form of which is *æt thére byrig*. Many place-names beginning with *At-*, *Atte-*, *Atter-*, have become personal names, and in the first volume of the Wakefield Court Rolls we meet with the following: Attebarre, Attebeck, Attebrook, Attegreen, Attecote, Attekirk, Attewell, Attewood—all personal names.

AUCKLEY.

Alceslei, Alcheslei, Alchelie (D.B., 67, 214 [1086]).

Alkeley, Alkley (K.I., 358 [1285–1316]).

Alkeley (C.C.R., iii., 455 [1300–1325]).

Aukley (Speed's Map [1610]).

The first element in *Alceslei* or *Alcheslei*, the D.B. forms of Auckley, is certainly a personal name. It is possible that this name was one of the many *Ealh-* or *Alh-* compounds, *e.g.*, Ealhhere, which is spelt Alcher in Domesday Book, or Ealhhun (D.B., Alchun). A more likely form, however, is the D.B. Alchel, which goes back to O.E. Ælfcytel, and gives us *Ælfcytelesleah* = the lea or clearing of Ælfcytel, as the O.E. form of Auckley.

AUSTERFIELD.

Oustrefeld (D.B., 67, 214 [1086]).

Ostrefeld (P.Q.W., 214 [1279–81]).

Austerfeld (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in this name seems to be O.N. *austr* = east. The *r* of *austr*, though only an inflexion, is kept in the O.N. compounds *austr-halfa* = the east, *austr-ferth* = a voyage to the east, *austr-att* = eastern region, etc., and the form *austar* is found in the adjective *austarliga* = easterly; *cf.* the O.H.G. place-names *Osterveld*, *Ostarburge* side by side with *Osthaim*, *Osthoven*. The termination in Austerfield is O.E. *feld* = a field, so that the meaning of the whole is "the eastern field."

AUSTHORPE.

Austethorp (P.T. [1379]).

Austhorp, Hausthorp, Ousthorp (K.I., 36, 208, 227, 287, 348 [1285–1316]).

Ossetorp (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

The Domesday Book spelling of Austhorpe is curious, but the other forms point in the direction of the O.N. *austr* = east, as furnishing the first element in this name. The termination is O.E. or O.N. *thorp* = village, and the meaning of Austhorpe is therefore "the eastern village." If, however, the D.B. form, *Ossetorp*, is correct, the personal name Oswulf or Osulf may be concealed in Austhorpe; see Ossett.

AUSTONLEY.

Alstaneslei (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Alstanley (W.C.R., i., 82 [1274]).

Gamel de Alstanley (W.C.R., i., 119 [1275]).

Austonley (Poll for the County of York, 264 [1741]).

The name Austonley points back through *Alstanley* and *Alstaneslei* to O.E. *Alhstaneslcah* = the lea or clearing of Alhstan. The personal name Alhstan or Ealhstan is found in a number of O.E. charters, and, under the form *Alestan*, it occurs in Domesday Book.

AUSTWICK.

Ousteuuic (D.B., 31 [1086]).

Austewyke (M.F., ii., pt. i., 16 [temp. Rich. I.]).

Sicke de Austwich (P.R., xxvi., 79 [1176]).

Oustewyk, Austwik (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

The first part of the name is the O.N. adjective *austr* = east (*cf.* Austhorpe), the *au* appearing as *ou* in Domesday Book and the inflectional *e* marking the dative case, *austa*. The termination is the O.E. *wic*, and the meaning of Austwick is "the eastern settlement, or the eastern village."

AZERLEY.

Aserla, Aserlei, Asserle, Haserlai (D.B., 182, 188, 199, 221 [1086]).

Azerlagh (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Aserley, Azerlawe, Azerlay (K.I., 46, 205, 294 [1285–1316]).

Azerleye (Y.I., ii., 100 [1290]).

Aserley (C.I.P.M., i., 168 [1301]).

There is some uncertainty as to the original form of the termination of Azerley. The D.B. spellings and the modern form point to O.E. *léah* = a lea, clearing, but the form *Azerlawe* to O.E. *hláw*, *hlǽw*, = a mound, a burial mound. The first part of Azerley is in all probability a personal name, but there is some doubt as to its true form. It is beyond all question identical with the personal name Azor which appears in the list of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book, and in spite of the fact that it is combined with the English termination *-ley*, it is probably a Scandinavian name. The choice seems to lie between (1) the O.N. Asgeirr which appears in the Lincolnshire Asgarby; (2) the Old Danish Assur, Azor, Azer (see Nielsen, *Gamle danske Navne*, Blandinger, i., 130); and (3) O.N. Asvarthr, which gives us the Lincolnshire Aswarby, and Aswardby, both of which are pronounced Azerby (see Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, p. 78 and footnote). In addition to these Scandinavian names, the names Asser and Assere are recorded by Searle. The former is that of the biographer of King Alfred, the latter appears in the Evesham Chronicle.

BADSWORTH.

Badesuuorde, Badesuurde (D.B., 103, 215 [1086]).

Badesworth (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Badesworth (C.P.R., i., 285 [1253]).

The name Badsworth may be compared with Badsey and Badswell in Worcestershire, which appear in Kemble's *Codex* as *Baddesig* and *Bædeswel* respectively. *Bad*, *Badd*, and *Bæd* are all variants of the O.E. *beadu* (= war, battle, strife), which enters freely into the formation of O.E. personal names, *e.g.*, Beaduheard, Beadumund, Beaduhelm. It is therefore probable that Badsworth goes back to an original *Beaduheardeswurth* or *Beadumundeswurth*, the meaning of which is "the enclosure of Beaduheard or Beadumund."

BAILDON.

Baildon, Bailledon, Bayldon (K.I., 37, 209, 347, 406 [1285–1316]).

Baylledon (C.C., 134 [before 1335]).

Beldone, Beldune (D.B., 40, 171, 210 [1086]).

This is a difficult name, and attempts to explain it must be more or less of the nature of guesswork. It is probable that the true M.E. forms are *Bailledon* or *Baildon*, and that the *Beldone*, *Beldune* of Domesday Book mark the substitution by Norman-French scribes of an *e* for the M.E. *ai* sound (*cf.* D.B. *Elesford* = O.E. *Æglesford*, Mod. E. *Aylesford*). The temptation to connect Baildon with O.E. *bǽl* = a fire, flame, funeral pyre, must, I think, be resisted, for the true M.E. form of O.E. *bǽl* is *beel;* but it is quite possible, as Mr. Battersby has pointed out to me, that the first element in the name is the O.N. *bál*, which is cognate with O.E. *bǽl*, and has the same meaning. This O.N. word appears in early Scottish as *baile*, *baill*, and *bele* (see N.E.D., 'bale'), and would give us, as the meaning of Baildon, 'the hill where the beacon-fire was lit.' It is also possible that the first element in Baildon is a personal name; M.E. *ai* frequently arises out of O.E. *æg;* thus O.E. *fæger* is M.E. *fair*, and O.E. *Æglesford* is M.E. *Ailesford*. An earlier form of Baildon may therefore be *Bægeldon* or *Bægildedon*, *Bægild* being a weakened form of the O.E. feminine personal name *Beaghild* (gen. *Beaghilde*). The name Beaghild occurs three times in the formation of unidentified place-names in Kemble's *Codex—Beaghildæ byrigels* (No. 1056), *Béhilde stoc* (No. 592), and *Behhilde sloh* (No. 1053). If this derivation of Baildon is correct, the O.E. form of the name would be *Beaghildedun*, the meaning of which is "the hill of Beaghild."

BALBY.

Ballesbi, Ballebi (D.B., 67, 119, 213 [1086]).

Balleby (Y.I., i., 199 [1279]).

Will. de Balleby (P.C., 547 [n.d.]).

The first element in Balby is probably the old Danish personal name Balli, recorded by Nielsen in his *Old danske Personnavne* (p. 10). and appearing in the Danish place-names Ballerup, Baldrup. The original form of Balby would accordingly be *Ballabyr* = the homestead of Balli. The D.B. form *Ballesby* looks like an attempt to anglicise the Danish Balli, gen. Balla, under the O.E. form Bælle, gen. Bælles.

BARDEN.

Bernedan (D.B., 84, 236 [1086]).

Berdene (K.I., 159 [1285–1316]).

Berden (C.I.P.M., i., 239 [1329]).

Barden (Speed's Map [1610]).

The D.B. spelling of Barden compares well with the *Beornedun* (= Barndon, Wilts.) found in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 57). In either case we have the O.E. personal name Beorna, which, under the

form Berne, appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. The O.E. Beorna is the contracted form of one of the many O.E. personal names compounded with *Beorn-*, of which Beornheard, Beornnoth and Beornwulf are examples. The termination of Barden is either O.E. *denu* = a valley, or O.E. *denn* = a swine-pasture in a wood; so that the meaning of Barden is "the valley, or the swine-pasture, of Beorna, Beornnoth, or Beornheard."

BARDSEY.

Berdesei, Bereleseie (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Berdeseya, Berdeseia, Berdesey (C.B.K., 10, 11, 24 [1209–1246]).

Berdesay, Berdesey, Berdsay, Bardesay (K.I., 39, 41, 209 [1285–1316]).

The D.B. spelling *Bereleseie* may be dismissed at once as a scribal error, and *Berdesei*, *Berdesay* may be regarded as the true M.E. forms. It is probable that in Bardsey, as in Barden (*q.v.*), we have, as the first element, one of the O.E. personal names compounded with *Beorn-*, and of these Beornræd seems the most likely. Between O.E. *Beornrædes ieg* and modern *Bardsey* the form *Beoredes* (*treow*) of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 421, 698) may well stand as an intermediate form, and the pedigree of Bardsey would then read as follows:—*Beornrædes eg* > *Beoredes eg* > *Beredesie* > *Berdesie* > *Berdesey* > *Bardesey* > *Bardsey*. The termination of the name is O.E. *ieg*, *ég* = a water-meadow, and Bardsey accordingly means "the water-meadow of Beornræd."

BARGH, BARUGH.

Berch, Berg (D.B., 18, 37, 166 [1086]).

Turstan de Berga (P.R., xv., 43 [1169]).

Bergh (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Bargh (P.T. [1379]).

The place-name Bargh or Barugh is only another form of the familiar name Barrow. The M.E. spelling *Bergh* or *Berg* takes us back to O.E. *Beorg* = a hill, mound, funeral barrow.

BARKSTON.

Barchestun (D.B., 100, 212 [1086]).

Barkestun (C.B.K., 223 [n.d.]).

Barkeston (K.I., 48, 214 [1285–1316]).

Barkeston (C.C.R., iii., 176 [1300–1326]).

The medial *s* in Barkston, and the fact that *Barch* appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book, indicate that the first element in Barkston is a personal name. Inasmuch as the element *Bark-* enters into the formation of a number of place-names in the district of the ancient Danelagh—there are Barkstons in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Nottingham—it is probable that the name is of Scandinavian origin. It may be the O.N. *Bárekr*, which appears in the Norwegian place-names *Baarsrud* (formerly *Bareksrud*) and *Bareksstadir*, or the O.N. *Børkr* which appears in the Norwegian *Barkevik*, *Barkeland*, *Barstad* (see Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne*, pp. 30, 55). The termination in Barkston is O.E. or O.N. *tún* = an enclosure, and the meaning of Barkston is accordingly "the enclosure of Bárekr or Børkr."

BARLOW.

Berlai (D.B., 154, 212 [1086]).

Berley (K.I., 344 [1285–1316]).

Berley (C.C.R., iii., 179 [1300–1325]).

Barlay (P.T. [1379]).

Barley (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

In Barlow we see the substitution, in very recent times, of the termination *-low* (from O.E. *hláw* = a hill) for *-ley* (from O.E. *léah* = a clearing). The first element is probably O.E. *bere* = barley. The meaning of Barlow is therefore "the barley clearing, the barley field."

BARNBOROUGH.

Berneburg, Berneborc, Barneburg (D.B., 118, 127, 205 [1086]).

Barneburc (C.C.R., i., 431 [1226–1257]).

Barneburgh (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1257–1300]).

Barneburg, Barneburgh (K.I., 3, 365 [1285–1316]).

Berne appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book, and the name goes back to O.E. Beorna; hence O.E. *Beornanburh* = the fortress, or manor-house of Beorna. Beorna is the contracted form of many O.E. *Beorn-* compounds, *e.g.*, Beornhelm, Beornheard, Beornwulf, and it is from one of these names that Barnborough takes its rise. The meaning of the name is therefore "the fortress or manor-house (*burh*) of Beorna, Beornhelm, Beornheard, or Beornwulf." The D.B. and C.C.R. forms *Barneburg*, *Barneburgh*, are due to confusion between O.E. *Beorna* and O.N. *Barni*, a name recorded by Nielsen in his *Old danske Personnavne*, and found in the old Danish place-name Barnæthorp. The normal change of *e* to *a* before *r* + consonant took place very late in the M.E. period, and therefore does not explain the eleventh and thirteenth century forms *Barneburg*, *Barneburgh*.

BARNBY-ON-DON.

Barnabi, Bærnabi (Blandinger, i., 62 [early 11th cent.]).

Barnebi (D.B., 67, 121 [1086]).

Barneby (Y.I., i., 243 [1282]).

Barneby, Barneby super Don (K.I., 5, 8, 232 [1285–1316]).

See Barnborough. The fact that there is no such spelling of Barnby as *Berneby* or *Bernebi* recorded above probably indicates that the first element in the name is not the O.E. personal name Beorna, or one of the O.E. *Beorn-* compounds, but the Scandinavian personal name Barni. The meaning of Barnby is therefore "the farm of Barni."

BARNOLDSWICK.

Bernulfeswic (D.B., 31, 196 [1086]).

Bernolueswich (C.B.K., 51 [circ, 1153]).

Bernolfwic (C.B.K., 189 [circ. 1150]).

Bernolswyk (C.B.K., 225 [1309]).

Barnoldeswike (V.E., 41 [1535]).

The various forms of Barnoldswick in the *Kirkstall Coucher Book* and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* are instructive in showing how the original *f* in Bernolf, Bernulf was gradually dropped, and how ultimately a *d* crept into its place. The form *Bernulf*, which occurs as a personal name in the Yorkshire Domesday Book, goes back either to O.E. *Beornwulf* or to O.N. *Bjǫrnulfr*, and the meaning of Barnoldswick is accordingly "the dwelling-place of Beornwulf or Bjǫrnulfr."

BARNSLEY.

Berneslai (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Bernesleya (C.C.R., i., 109, 339 [1226–1257]).

Berneslai (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Barneslay (B.M.E., 92 [1410]).

The M.E. forms *Berneslai*, *Bernesleya* go back to O.E. *Beornesleah*, *Beornes* being the gen. case of the O.E. personal name Beorn. Beorn seems to have been both an independent name and also the first element in a number of compounds, *e.g.*, Beornheard, Beornnoth, Beornwulf. Barnsley in Dorset appears in one of the Charter Rolls (C.C.R., iii., 234) as *Burnardesle* for O.E. *Beornheardesleah*, and it is possible that the Yorkshire Barnsley also goes back to the same form and means "the lea of Beornheard or Bernard."

BARROWBY.

Berghebi (D.B., 133, 173 [1086]).

Berghby (K.I., 205, 294 [1285–1316]).

Will. de Berghby, Beruby (C.B.K., 348 [n.d.]).

Will. de Berweby (R.W.W., 76 [1279–1285]).

Will. Barowby (F. of Y., i., 142 [1428]).

The O.E. *beorg*, O.N. *berg*, = a hill, mound, barrow, became M.E. *bergh*, *berwe* and Mod. E. *barrow*. To this was added the Scandinavian termination *-by*, and the meaning of Barrowby is accordingly "the farmstead on the hill," or "the farmstead by the funeral barrow."

BARWICK-IN-ELMET.

Adam de Berewike (C.B.K., 23 [n.d.]).

Berwike (C.B.K., 138 [n.d.]).

Berwyk, Berwik, Barwyk (K.I., 38, 210, 288 [1285–1316]).

Bereuuit, Bereuuith (D.B., 96, 97, 210 [1086]).

Such early spellings of Barwick as *Bereuuit* and *Bereuuith* cannot obscure the fact that the modern Barwick goes back to O.E. *Berewic*, a place-name formed out of O.E. *bere* = barley and O.E. *wic* = a building, dwelling-place. According to the New English Dictionary a 'berwick' or 'berewick' is a demesne farm, *i.e.*, that part of a manor which was not let out to tenants but retained for the lord's own use. But this sense of the word is scarcely original, and has probably grown out of the meaning "a barley farm," or "a building in which barley was stored." For Elmet, see Introduction, p. ix.

BASHALL.

Bacskalf (R.H., i., 111 [1276]).

Bacsholf (C.C.R., iii., 44 [1300–1326]).

Bakescolf, Bacsolve (K.I., 17, 354 [1285–1316]).

Basscholf (C.B.K., 362 [n.d.]).

Baschelf (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Bashall (Speed's Map [1610]).

The early spellings of Bashall show that the termination *-hall* has taken the place of O.E. *scylf* = a peak, crag, or O.N. *skjalf* = a ledge of elevated land (*cf.* Ulleskelf and Tanshelf). The first element in Bashall is possibly the personal name *Bæcc*, *Bæc*, or *Bacca*. The form Bacca appears three times in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (see

Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 471), and the strong form *Bæc* or *Bæcc* in the Baxby of the North Riding (D.B. *Bachesbi*). Bacca also appears in the Kentish Bapchild (*Baccancild*, K.C.D., No. 996 [A.D. 694]; *cf.* O.N. Bakki, O.H.G. Bacco, O.Fris. Backe. Mr. Battersby has pointed out to me that the first element may be O.E. *bæc* = a stream; *cf.* Sandbach. This would give us, as the meaning of Bashall, "the crag or ledge of rock by the stream."

BATLEY.

Bateleia, Bathelie (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Bathelay, Batelay, Batele (R.A.G., 30, 226, 257 [1266–1279]).

Batelay, Bateley (K.I., 30, 224, 279 [1285–1316]).

Batelay (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1257–1300]).

Batley probably takes its origin from some personal name; Bate appears as the name of a person on a burial pyramid at Glastonbury (see Searle, *Onomasticon*), and a personal name Bata furnishes the first element in the *Batancumb* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 383), which becomes *Batecumbe* in Domesday Book and Batcomb in modern English. Batley accordingly means "the lea or clearing of Bata" and the O.E. form of the name would be *Batanleah*.

BATTRIX. *See Appendix.*

BAWTRY.

Baltrytheleah (K.C.D., No. 1298 [1002]).

Baltrie (C.C.R., ii., 433 [1257–1300]).

Baltry (C.C.R., i., 146 [1226–1257]).

Bautre (R.A.G., 78, 80 [1266–1279]).

Bautre (K.I., 358 [1285–1316]).

Joh. de Bawtry (F. of Y., i., 75 [1377]).

There can be little doubt that the *Baltrytheleah* of Kemble's *Codex* is the modern Bawtry. The name occurs in the will of a certain Wulfric, made in the year 1002, in which Doncaster and various places in the Trent valley and the neighbourhood of Bawtry are mentioned. It goes back to an earlier *Baldthrytheleah*, and the meaning is "the lea of Baldthryth"—an O.E. female name. The weakening of *Baltrytheleah* to *Baltrie*, *Baltry*, with the dropping of the termination *-leah* presents no serious phonological difficulty, and the change from *Baltrie* to *Bautre* and *Bawtry* is analogous to the change which has taken place in Auckley (*q.v.*) and other Yorkshire place-names.

BEAL or BEAGHALL.

Begale (D.B., 166, 215 [1086]).

Begahal (C.C.R., i., 110 [1226–1257]).

Beghale (C.I.P.M., i., 243 [1311]).

Beghall (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Beall (V.E., 65 [1535]).

The first element in Beal or Beaghall is probably the personal name Bega or Begha. Begga or Begha is the name of the Irish virgin-saint who received the veil at the hands of Aidan and became the first English abbess in the reign of King Oswald. Her name is preserved in St. Bees, Cumberland. There was also an Irish virgin-saint Bega associated with Northumbria in the eighth century, and it may well be that Beal takes its name from one or other of these two women. The termination is either O.E. *hall* = a hall, or O.E. *halh* = a corner of land, and the meaning of Beal is accordingly "the hall or the corner of land of Bega or Begha."

BEAMSLEY.

Bethameslay (C.C.R., iii., 52 [1300–1326]).

Bethemeslai, Bethemeslei, Bethemesley, Bethemsley (K.I., 44, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

Bedmeslei, Bemeslai, Bomeslai (D.B., 28, 29, 161, 224 [1086]).

Bemeslay (P.T. [1379]).

The forms *Bedmeslai* and *Bethemeslai* probably go back to an earlier *Bedelmesleah*, which, in its turn, is a contracted form of O.E. *Beaduhelmesleah* = the lea or clearing of Beaduhelm. Beaduhelm appears under the form Badhelm as a monk's name in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.

BECCA (HALL).

Bekehagh, Bekhagh, Bekehaith (K.I., 36, 208, 287 [1285–1316]).

Bekkehay, Bekhayth (C.B.K., 350 [n.d.]).

The spellings of this name given above show considerable variation with regard to the original ending, but the probability is in favour of the forms *Bekehagh*, *Bekhagh* and *Bekkehay*, all of which point to O.E. *hæg*, *haga*, O.N. *hagi* = an enclosure. The first element in the name is probably O.N. *bekkr* = a beck, stream, the beck in question being Cock Beck. The meaning of Becca is accordingly "the enclosure by the beck." But it is also possible that the first element in Becca is the personal name Becca, mentioned as the name of a king in the O.E. poem, *Widsith*, and apparently preserved in the place-name Beckford (Glos.), which is spelt *Beccanford* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 184).

BECKWITH.

Beckwith (Y.I., iii., 131 [1300]).

Becvi (D.B., 161, 222 [1086]).

Beckwith is probably formed out of the two O.N. words, *bekkr* = a beck, stream, and *vithr* = a tree, wood. The meaning is therefore "the tree, or wood, by the stream." In Beckwithshaw, which adjoins Beckwith, we have the fuller form, with the addition of the word 'shaw' (O.E. *scaga* = a copse).

BEESTON.

Bestone (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Rad. de Beston (P.R., xi., 82 [1166]).

Bestone, Beston, Bieston (K.I., 30, 227, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

Beeston (C.C., 222 [1399]).

Beeston (Norfolk) appears as *Beston* in a charter of the years 1044–1047 (see K.C.D., No. 785), but this is scarcely the original form of the name. I am disposed to trace *Bestone* back to an earlier *Beowestun*, and to associate Beeston with the personal name *Beow*, the strong form of *Beowa*, the name of the mythic hero whose adventures form the theme of the Beowulf epic. For further reference to the Beow or Beowa myth, see Introduction, p. xxvi., and *cf.* Binz, *Zeugnisse zur Germanischen Saga in England* (Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, xx., pp. 154–156).

BENTHAM.

Benetain (D.B., 32 [1086]).

Will. de Bentham (Y.I., i., 25 [1251]).

Bentham, Benton (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

Bentham (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in this name is O.E. *beonet* = bent, wiry grass growing on poor land. It appears very frequently with the termination *-leah* in English place-names, giving us the modern Bentley. There is some uncertainty as to the original form of the termination; it may be O.E. *hamm* or O.E. *tún*. Both mean "an enclosure," so that Bentham is "the enclosure of bents or wiry grass."

BENTLEY.

Benetleg (C.C.R., i., 314 [1226–1257]).

Benedleia, Benelei, Beneslaie, Beneslei (D.B., 70, 121, 214, 215 [1086]).

Bentelay, Bentelay, Bentley (K.I., 3, 12, 232, 283 [1285–1316]).

Bentelay (C.B.K., 143 [1315]).

The Yorkshire Bentley, like the Bentleys in Hants., Warwick, and Worcestershire, all of which appear in Kemble's *Codex* as *Beonetleah*, is formed out of O.E. *beonet* = bent, wiry grass, and O.E. *léah* = a lea, clearing (see Bentham). The D.B. spellings *Beneslaie*, *Beneslei*, are probably misleading, but it is perhaps worth noticing that they point in the direction of O.E. *Beonothesleah* (which gives us Bensley (Worcs.), the first element in which is the personal name Beonoth or Beornnoth.

BEWERLEY.

Beurelie (D.B., 173, 222 [1086]).

Beuerley (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9 [1312]).

Beuerley, Beverley, Buerley (M.F., i., 255, 277, 334, 342 [1535]).

I am disposed to trace the name Bewerley to an O.E. form *Beowardaleah*, in which the first part, *Beowarda*, is the gen. plur. of O.E. *béoward*, *béoweard*, = a bee-keeper. This gives "the lea or clearing of the bee-keepers" as the meaning of the name. See Introduction, p. xxx.

BICKERTON.

Bekerton (Y.A.T.J., v., 236 [1509]).

Bichretone, Bicretone (D.B., 184, 220 [1086]).

Bykerton (C.C.R., i., 280 [1226–1257]).

Bikerton, Bykerton, Bykyrton (K.I., 25, 220, 342 [1285–1316].)

It is probable that the *Bicker-* of Bickerton is another form of the *Becker* which appears in Beckering (Lincs.), Beckermonds (Yorks.), and Beckermet (Cumberland), and that both go back to O.N. *bekkjar*, the gen. sing. of *bekkr* = a stream, beck, *cf.* the O.N. compound *bekkjarkvern* = a water-mill. The meaning of Bickerton is, accordingly, "the enclosure by the water." The change from *e* to *i* in O.N. *bekkjar* > M.E. *biker*, is due to the following *k* sound; *cf.* O.E. *recenian*, M.E. *rikenen*, and see Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 109. The *e* is preserved in Beckermonds and Beckermet, both of which mean "the meeting-place of the becks."

BIERLEY (EAST and NORTH).

Birle (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Byrle (C.C.R., ii., 268 [1257–1300]).

Byrley, North Birel, Northbirle, North Byrill (K.I., 30, 225, 360 [1285–1316]).

Estbirle (C.C., 241 [1424]).

Byrley (V.E., 149 [1535]).

The first element in this name may be O.E. *býre* = a cow-house, byre. This would give us *Byreleah* or *Byrleah* as the original form of Bierley, the meaning being "the clearing by the cow-shed, or the clearing with a cow-shed in it." See Byram, and Kirkburton.

BILBROUGH.

Billeburg (C.C.R., iii., 158 [1300–1326]).

Byleburgh, Bilburgh (K.I., 26, 219, 290 [1285–1316]).

Bilburgh (C.C.R., iii., 41 [1300–1326]).

Mileburg (D.B., 162, 219 [1086]).

The *M* in D.B. *Mileburg* is apparently a scribal error, and there can be no doubt that *Billeburgh*, *Byleburgh* and *Bilburgh* are the true M.E. forms. These lead us back to O.E. *Billanburh*, where the first element is the personal name Billa ; *cf.* K.C.D. *Billancumb* = Bilcomb (Wilts.), *Billanora* = Bilnor (Kent). The O.E. name Billa, which is still more common in the patronymic Billing, is a shortened form of one of the Bil- compounds, *e.g.*, Bilhelm, Bilheard, Bilnoth, and the probability is that one of these names is concealed in the modern Bilbrough, which means "the fortress, or manor-house, of Billa."

BILHAM.

Bileham, Bilha', Bilam, Bilan (D.B., 67, 118, 127, 213 [1086]).

Billeham, Bylleham, Bilham, Billam (K.I., 4, 8, 231, 282 [1285–1316]).

Bilh'm (T. de N., 364 [temp. Ed. II.]).

The first element in this name is identical with that of Bilbrough (*q.v.*). The termination may be O.E. *hám* = home, or O.E. *hamm*, *homm* = an enclosure ; the meaning of Bilham (O.E. *Billanhám* or *Billanhamm*) is therefore either "the home of Billa" or "the enclosure of Billa."

BILLINGLEY.

Bilingelei, Bilingelie, Bingelie (D.B., 120, 186, 213 [1086]).

Billingelay (T. de N., 375 [temp. Ed. II.]).

Billingley, Bilingley (K.I., 4, 366 [1285–1316]).

Billingley preserves the personal name Billa (see Bilbrough and Bilham) with the addition of the patronymic *-ing*. The O.E. form of Billingley would be *Billingaleah* = the lea or meadows of the sons of Billa. *Billinga* is the gen. plur. of Billing ; the gen. sing. *Billinges* is preserved in the modern Billingsley, Billingsgate.

BILTON.

Billetone, Biletone (D.B., 161, 194, 222 [1086]).

Byleton (C.C.R., i., 450 [1326–1357]).

Bilton (K.I., 25, 220 [1285–1316]).

See Bilbrough and Bilham. The O.E. form would be *Billantun*, meaning "Billa's enclosure."

BINGLEY.

Bingheleia, Bingelei (D.B., 171, 211 [1086]).

Bingelay (C.C.R., i., 115 [1226–1257]).

Bingeley, Byngeley, Bingley (K.I., 42, 43, 209, 347 [1285–1316]).

It is possible that Bingley is another form of Billingley, the spelling *Bingelie* being recorded by Domesday Book as another form of *Bilingelei* (see Billingley). But it is more likely that Bingley is a contracted form of *Binningley* or *Benningley*, and in support of this derivation it may be mentioned that Bengworth (Worcs.) appears as *Benningwurth* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 61, 64). The raising of *e* to *i* before *ng* (Bingley<Bengley) is an instance of the same change which we see in the pronunciation of England (*cf.* Dringhouses from O.N. *Drengahus*). The name *Benning*, which appears uncontracted in Bennington (Lincs.), is the patronymic of Benna or Beonna. In the case of Bingley, the choice therefore lies between O.E. *Billingaleah* = the lea of the sons of Billa, and O.E. *Benningaleah* = the lea of the sons of Benna or Beonna.

BIRKIN.

Berchinge, Berchige, Berchine (D.B., 100, 204, 212 [1086]).

Byrkinga (C.B.S., i., 288 [n.d.]).

Birkyn, Byrkyn (K.I., 49, 344 [1285–1316]).

Birkin (C.C.R., ii., 185 [1257–1300]).

Birkin has apparently lost a final *g*, *Byrkinga* and *Berchinge* being in all probability the most primitive of the forms given above —*cf.* Kiplin = D.B. Chipeling. If such is the case, there are two possible derivations of the name: (1) Birkin may be identical with Barking in Essex, which appears as *Beorcingas*, *Berecingas*, and *Berkinge* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 38, 685, 907, 1222), where the name probably means "(the dwelling-place) of the family of the Beorcings." (2) The termination *-ing* may be Danish *eng* = a water-meadow, which appears in the place-name Bubwith Ings, some ten miles from Birkin. In this case, the first part of the name is probably Danish *birk* = a birch-tree, and the meaning of Birkin is "the water-meadow by the birch-tree."

BIRSTWITH.

Beristade (D.B., 28, 183, 222 [1086]).

Birstad (A.G.R., 33 [1225–55]).

Birstethe, Brestith, Byrsteith (Kn. W., i., 10, 31, 85, 92, 101 [1521]).

Birsteth (Kn. W., ii., 232 [1658]).

Birstwith (Poll for County of York, 9 [1741]).

It is probable that the modern spelling of Birstwith is corrupt as far as its termination goes, the ending *-with* (O.N. *vithr* = a tree, wood, *cf.* Askwith) superseding an earlier form *steth* or *stad*, from O.E. *stæth* = a shore, river-bank. The first element in the name is somewhat uncertain, but it may be O.E. *berige*, *berie* = a berry, which would give us "the river-bank overgrown with berry-producing trees" as the meaning of Birstwith; *cf. Berigancumb* and *Berigcumb* (B.C.S., 27, 476).

BISHOPTHORPE.

Torp (D.B., 126, 162 [1086]).

Biscupthorp (Y.I., i., 159 [1275]).

Thorp, Bischopthorp (K.I., 23, 217 [1285–1316]).

Originally known simply as the thorpe or village (O.N., O.E. *thorp*), the place has acquired, through being the place of residence of the archbishops of York, the name Bishopthorpe.

BLUBBERHOUSES.

Bloberhous (K.I., 425 [1285–1316]).

Bloberhouses (V.E., 120 [1535]).

Bluberhuses (P.Q.W., 200 [1279–81]).

The name Blubberhouses is as repulsive in sound and suggestion as the place itself is beautiful. The etymology is not very simple, but of the forms given above, *Bloberhous* seems to be the most primitive, and it probably points back to an early M.E. *Blóberghhous*, which is formed out of (1) M.E. *blό* from O.N. *blár* = black, livid, blue; (2) M.E. *bergh* from O.E. *beorg*, O.N. *berg* = hill, and (3) M.E. *hous*, *hus* from O.E., O.N. *hús* = house, houses. The name may accordingly mean "the houses by the black hill."

BOLTON (par. Bradford).

Bodeltone (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Bolton, Boulton (K.I., 227, 361 [1285–1316]).

Boulton juxta Bradeford (C.C., 157 [1328]).

BOLTON (ABBEY).

Bodelton, Boeltona, Boulton, Bolton (C.B.K., 4, 187, 252, 330 [1219]).

BOLTON-BY-BOWLAND.

Bodeltone (D.B., 135 [1086]).

Boulton (K.I., 198, 354 [1285–1316]).

BOLTON-UPON-DEARNE.

Bodelton, Bodetone (D.B., 120, 130 [1086]).

Bolton, Boulton (K.I., 6, 10, 230 [1285–1316]).

BOLTON PERCY.

Bodeltone, Bodetone, Badetone (D.B., 131, 206, 207 [1086]).

Bolton, Boulton (K.I., 24, 218 [1285–1316]).

Bolton Percy (P.T. [1379]).

All the Yorkshire Boltons derive their name from O.E. *botl*, *bold* = a building, house, dwelling-place. The O.E. *botl* and *bold* go back to a primitive Teutonic *buthlo*, from which the forms *bodl*, *bodel*, though not recorded in O.E., are regularly developed. The meaning of Bolton is accordingly "the enclosure of land (O.E. *tún*) with some sort of building erected upon it." We meet with the first element in Bolton in the English place-names Newbold, Newbolt, and Wallbottle.

BORDLEY.

Bordelay (C.C.R., ii., 424 [1257–1300]).

Alan de Bordele (P.C., 189 [c. 1190]).

Borelaie (D.B., 197 [1086]).

The D.B. form *Borelaie* is evidently a mistake for *Bordelaie*, and the O.E. form of *Bordelaie* was probably *Bordanleah*, *i.e.*, the lea of Borda. The name Borda appears as that of a landholder in Domesday Book.

BOROUGHBRIDGE.

Osmund de Ponteburch (P.R., xxii., 178 [1174]).

Pons Burgi (R.W.W., 49 [1279–1285]).

Pons Burgi (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Burghbryg (R.C.A., 199 [1468]).

Boroughbridge (C.C.R., ii., 443 [1257–1300]).

Pons Burgi and the hybrid *Ponteburch* have given way to the native Boroughbridge. The borough from which it takes its name is, of course, Aldborough, once known simply as the burgh, the borough (see Aldborough).

BOWLING.

Will' de Bollinges (P.R., ix., 46 [1165]).

Bollinc (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Bollyng (C.C., 60 [1265]).

Bolling, Bollyng (K.I., 30, 226, 361 [1285–1316]).

Bolling (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Bowling is apparently an instance of a place-name formed directly from a patronymic in *-ing*, without the addition of any such termination as *-ham* or *-ton*, or *ley*. Other instances of such names are Tooting and Basing, which appear as *æt Totinge* and *æt Basengum* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (see A.S. Chron. A-text, anno 871). For further details as to such names see Introduction, p. xli. The spelling *Bollinges* of the Pipe Roll preserves the plural form (O.E. *Bollingas*). Bolling is the patronymic of O.E. Bolla or O.N. Bolli; it appears again in Bolingbroke (Lincs.), Bollington (Cheshire), and Bollingham (Hereford), while the simple form *Bolla* is found in Bolney (Sussex), which appears as *Bollanea* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1,000). The Scandinavian Bolli appears in the Norwegian *Bollerud*, *Bollestad*, and *Balstad* (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 46). On the development of the sound *oul* in Bowling out of earlier *ol* in the combination *ol* + consonant, see Wright, *The English Dialect Grammar*, § 86.

BRACEWELL.

Braisuelle (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Breycewelle (R.A.G., 254 [1266–1279]).

Braycewell, Braicewell, Bracewell (K.I., 15, 192, 193, 365 [1285–1316]).

Bracewell (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

It is probable that Bracewell owes its name to the O.N. name Bragi, originally the name of the Norse Apollo, the god of poetry, but used also as a personal name. Introduced into England as a personal name in the form *Bræg*, the O.E. form of Bracewell would be *Brægeswella* = the well of Bræg or Bragi. The change from O.E. *Brægeswella* to M.E. *Braiswelle* is quite regular.

BRADFIELD.

Hugo de Bradefeld (R.A.G., 193 [1266–1279]).

Bradefeld (K.I., 3 [1285–1316]).

Bradefeld, the M.E. form of Bradfield, goes back to O.E. *se bráda feld* = the broad field; dat. (*in thém*) *brádan felda* = in the broad field. Bradfield (Sussex) appears as *Bradanfeld* in several O.E. charters (see Index to K.C.D., p. 262).

BRADFORD.

Bradeforde (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Bradeford (C.C., 157 [1328]).

Bradford (C.C.R., ii., 436 [1257–1300]).

Bradford (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

The Bradfords in Dorset, Surrey, and Worcestershire all appear as *Bradanford*, *Bradanforde* in the Index to K.C.D., and there is no doubt that the Yorkshire Bradford is identical with these in origin. *Bradan* is the dat. case of the O.E. adjective *brád*, and the name takes its rise from the phrase *æt thém brádan forda* = at the broad ford. (See Bradfield and Bradley).

BRADLEY.

Bradelei (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Bradeley (C.C.R., ii., 208 [1257–1300]).

Bradeley (K.I., 14, 193 [1285–1316]).

Bradley (C.C., 212 [1397]).

Bradley goes back to O.E. *in thém brádan léage* = in the broad clearing ; see the various Bradleys in the Index to K.C.D., p. 262, and *cf.* Bradford and Bradfield.

BRAHAM (GREAT).

Michel Bra', Michelbram, Michelbran (D.B., 133, 161, 173, 223 [1086]).

Braham, Brame (K.I., 45, 205, 349 [1285–1316]).

Brah'm (T. de N., 367 [temp. Ed. II.]).

Braham (C.I.P.M., i., 326 [1326]).

It is doubtful whether the termination *-ham* in Braham is either O.E. *hamm* = an enclosure, or O.E. *hám* = a home. The early forms *Bram*, *Brame*, and *Bran* are against such a derivation, and it is at least possible that Braham goes back to a form *Braum*, *i.e.*, the dative plural of O.N. *brá*, M.E. *bra*, *bro* = a brae, hill-side, river-bank. If the derivation is correct, the meaning of the name Braham is " on the braes."

BRAITHWELL.

Bradeuuelle (D.B., 127, 130 [1086]).

Braythewelle (C.C.R., iii., 138 [1300–1325]).

Braythewell (K.I., 359 [1285–1316]).

Brathwelle (C.C., 207 [1389]).

The difference between the D.B. spelling of Braithwell and that of the later M.E. and modern forms is probably due to something

more than the indifferent spelling of French scribes. The form *brade* is from O.E. *brádan*, the dat. case of the adjective *brád* = broad; but the from *braythe* is from the O.N. *breitha*, the dat. case of *breithr* (broad), and it is the Scandinavian, and not the O.E., form which has prevailed in the modern name. The termination is O.E. *well*, *wella* = a well, spring, fountain, so that the meaning of Braithwell is "the broad well," or "the broad spring."

BRAMHAM.

Brameha', Bramha', Braham (D.B., 66, 204, 211 [1086]).

Brameham (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1257–1300]).

Bramham (K.I., 50, 214, 284 [1285–1316]).

Bramham (C.C.R., iii., 150 [1300–1325]).

The first element in Bramham is not O.E. *bróm* = broom—for this would have resulted in Mod. E. Broomham, Bromham, or Brumham—but the rare word *brame* = the briar, also the bramble. The word still exists in the sense of the bramble, the blackberry, in Lincolnshire and Westmorland (see Wright's Dialect Dictionary, '*Brame*,') and, according to the New English Dictionary, is identical with the Middle Dutch and Middle High German *bráme* = the bramble. Bramham accordingly means "the enclosure (O.E. *hamm*, *homm*) by the brambles," or "the enclosure formed by a hedge of bramble or briar bushes."

BRAMHOPE.

Bramhop, Brahop (D.B., 160, 211 [1086]).

Bramhop, Bramphop (K.I., 37, 344 [1285–1316]).

Bramphope, Branhope (C.C.R., ii., 255, 284 [1257–1300]).

The first element in Bramhope is probably identical with that of Bramham (*q.v.*); the meaning is accordingly "a piece of enclosed land among the bramble bushes," or "an enclosure formed by a hedge of brambles." For the origin and exact sense of the termination *-hope*, see Introduction, p. xl. The spelling Bramphope shows the appearance of *p* as a glide-sound after *m*; *cf.* Hampton from earlier *Hamtun*.

BRAMLEY.

Bramelei, Brameleia (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Bramelay, Bramlay, Bramley (K.I., 30, 224, 360 [1285–1316]).

Bramley (C.B.K., 12, 30 [1218]).

See Bramham and Bramhope. It is formed of M.E. *brame* = a bramble-bush and M.E. *ley*, *lay*, O.E. *léah* = a lea, clearing; hence "the clearing by the bramble-bush."

BRAMPTON BIERLOW.

Brantone (D.B., 186, 213 [1086]).

Brantona, Branton (C.B.K., 157, 163 [n.d.]).

Brampton juxta Wath (K.I., 7, 230, 281 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Brampton may be the same as that in Bramham, Bramhope, and Bramley (*q.v.*), or it may be the O.E. adjective *brant* = steep, which appears in Branton Green (*q.v.*). The distinguishing name Bierlow is another form of the word *byrlaw*, which is of Scandinavian origin (O.N. *byjar-lög*) and means a district having its own byrlaw court or local law. For further details, see Introduction, p. xxii.

BRAMPTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN.

Brantone (D.B., 69, 214 [1086]).

Brampton, Brampton in Morthing (K.I., 6, 9, 359 [1285–1316]).

Brampton (C.C.R., ii., 330 [1286]).

The name Brampton in Brampton-en-le-Morthen is identical with the Brampton of Brampton Bierlow (*q.v.*). and means either "the enclosure among the brambles," or "the steep enclosure." The distinguishing phrase "en-le-Morthen," or "in Morthing," is of Scandinavian origin and means in the district (O.N. *thing*) called Morthing. For further details as to the Scandinavian *thing* as a political unit, see Introduction, p. xxii. One of the two chief "things" into which Sweden was divided was called Morathing.

BRAMWITH (KIRK).

Bramwyt, Bromwyth (A.G.R., 91, 112 [1225–1255]).

Rob. de Brandwyd (R.A.G., 191 [1266–1279]).

Brampwyth (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Branuuat, Branuuet (D.B., 120, 214 [1086]).

The first element in Bramwith is probably either the word *brame* = the bramble, the origin and meaning of which have been discussed under Bramham (*q.v.*), or O.E. *brant* = steep. The termination may be O.N. *vithr* = a tree, wood, but it is possible that this ending has replaced an earlier *wath*, from O.N. *vath* = a ford; *cf.* Mulwith, which has developed out of *Mulwath*. The D.B. spelling *Branuuat* points to O.N. *vath*. The meaning of Bramwith may therefore be (1) the bramble thicket, (2) the ford by the brambles, or (3) the steep ford.

BRANTON GREEN.

Brantune, Brantone, Brantun (D.B., 27, 28, 172, 194 [1086]).

Branton, Brampton (K.I., 45, 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Branton (C.C.R., iii., 116 [1300–1326]).

Although Branton appears as Brampton in Kirkby's Inquest, it is probably derived not from M.E. *brame* = a bramble, but from O.E. *brant* = steep; the termination is O.N. *tún* = an enclosure. The adjective "brant," in the sense of steep, is still fairly common in northern dialects.

BRAYTON.

Braithatun (Blandinger, 62 [early 11th cent.]).

Braitun (C.C.R., iii., 180 [1300–1326]).

Braiton, Braton, Brayton (K.I., 214, 285, 344 [1285–1316]).

Bretone, Brettan (D.B., 99, 211 [1086]).

The early spelling of Brayton as *Braithatun* in the list of Yorkshire names drawn up early in the eleventh century, and published by Prof. Stephens in the first volume of *Blandinger til Oplysning om Dansk Sprog*, makes it clear that Brayton is of Scandinavian origin, and formed out of O.N. *breithr* = broad and O.N. *tún* = an enclosure; hence, "the broad enclosure"; *cf.* Braithwell.

BREARTON.

Braretone, Baretone (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

Brereton (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

John Brereton (C.C., 267 [1457]).

Brearton is a native word, formed out of O.E. *brér*, *brér* = the briar, dog-rose, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The meaning is "the enclosure by the briar."

BRETTON (MONK).

Brettone, Bretone (D.B., 110, 216 [1086]).

Bretton (K.I., 374 [1285–1316]).

Monckebretton (P.T. [1379]).

Monkebretton (V.E., 56 [1535]).

BRETTON (WEST).

Brecton, Breton (C.P.R., i., 332, 334 [1256]).

Bretone (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Brettona (C.C.R., i., 110 [1226–1257]).

Bretton, West Bireton, Burton (K.I., 352, 363 [1285–1316]).

Bretton is a name of uncertain origin. Were it not for the form *Brecton* of the Papal Letter, it would be tempting to derive Bretton from O.E. *Brettun* or *Brettatun*, and explain the name as the

enclosure of the British ; *cf.* the *Bretland* (= Britain) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But the form *Brectun*, though it occurs as late as a charter of the second half of the thirteenth century, is not to be ignored ; for the development of Bretton out of Brecton through the assimilation of *ct* to *tt* is in strict keeping with phonological law (*cf.* Ditton (Kent), from O.E. *Dictun* (K.C.D., No. 929). The *brec-* of *Brectun* may be either (1) O.N. *brekka*, cognate with English *brink*, and signifying the slope of a hill, or (2) the local word *breck*, which the editors of the New English Dictionary connect with the verb "to break," and which is used in Norfolk and Suffolk in the sense of "a large field," and in Northumberland in the sense of "a portion of a field cultivated by itself," (see N.E.D., *breck*). The termination in Bretton is O.E. or O.N. *tún* = an enclosure. The prefix Monk in Monk Bretton records the settlement here of a number of Cluniac monks in the reign of Henry II.

BRIERLEY.

Brereley (C.C.R., ii., 178, 222 [1257–1300]).

Brerelay (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Brerley (Y.I., ii., 25, 26 [1285]).

Brirley (C.C.R., ii., 178 [1257–1300]).

Breselai, Breselie (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

See Brearton. In the form Brierley the M.E. *brere* has undergone the same curious change to the diphthong sound *ai* which we see in the modern English word "briar" itself ; *cf. friar*, compared with M.E. *frere*. The spelling *Brirley* in the Charter Roll seems to indicate that the raising of *e* to *i* had already begun in the thirteenth century. The D.B. forms *Breselai*, *Breselie* are obviously incorrect. Brierley accordingly goes back to O.E. *Brérléah*, *Brérléah* = the clearing by the briar.

BRIMHAM.

Birnebiha' (D.B., 161, 173 [1086]).

Birnebem (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9 [1312]).

Brymbem, Bremham, Brynebem, Brymham (M.F., i., 254, 257, 260, 293 [1535]).

John de Brimham (C.P.R., i., 37 [1377]).

This is a difficult name to interpret, but there can be little doubt that the first element in it is the personal name Biorna, Beorna, or one of the many Beorn compounds. Moreover, the forms *Birnebiha'*, *Birnebem*, *Brynebem*, make it extremely probable that the following syllable contained a *b*. In one of the charters of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1365) we meet with a place-name *Birneburne*

which goes back to an older *Biornanburne* and means "the stream of Biorna." It is therefore just possible that Brimham goes back through *Birnebiham* to an original *Biornanburnhamm*, meaning "the enclosure by Biorna's stream." Or the middle element in the name may be the Danish *by* = a farm, which gives us "the enclosure by Biorna's farm" as the meaning of Brimham. In the development of the modern form Brimham out of the *Birnebiham* of Domesday Book several interesting phonological changes may be observed: (1) loss of the unaccented vowels *e* and *i*; (2) change of *n* to *m* before labial *b*; (3) metathesis of *r*—*Birnebiham* > *Birnbham* > *Birmbham* > *Birmham* > *Brimham*.

BRINSWORTH.

Brinesford (D.B., 118, 130 [1086]).

Brinisford (Y.L.S., 46 [1297]).

Brinsford, Braynesford, Brineford, Brinford (K.I., 6, 230, 281, 358 [1285–1316]).

Brynsford (V.E., 62 [1535]).

Brinsworth (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

The forms given above show that in Brinsworth the termination *-worth* (O.E. *wurth*, *worth* = an enclosure, homestead) has within comparatively recent times replaced the termination *-ford* (O.E. *ford* = a ford). The first element in Brinsworth is clearly a personal name, and I am disposed to associate it with the O.E. name Birinus which is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the name of a West-Saxon bishop, and which is apparently a Latinised form of O.E. Berwine, Birwine. This, in its turn, is a contracted form of an original Beornwine or Biornwine. Brinsworth may accordingly be "the farm—formerly the ford—of Biornwine." The name Beornwine or Biornwine occurs no less than twenty-three times in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.

BRODSWORTH.

Brodesuurde, Brodesworde, Brochesuuorde, (D.B., 68, 121, 214 [1086]).

Broddesword, Brodesworth (K.I., 9, 233 [1285–1316]).

Brodesworth (P.T. [1379]).

The D.B. form *Brochesuuorde* is without support, and may be regarded as a scribal error. The first element in Brodsworth is in all probability a personal name. Searle records the name *Brode* in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, and there was a Scandinavian *Broddr* who gave his name to *Braastad* in Norway (formerly *Brodstadt*), while Förstemann in his *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* records the name Brodulf, a shortened form of Brodwulf. Brodsworth is therefore to be regarded as "the enclosure (O.E. *wurth*, *worth*) of Brode, Broddr, or Brodwulf."

BROTHERTON.

Brothortun (Blandinger, i., 62 [early 11th cent.]).

Brotherton (C.C.R., iii., 180 [1300–1326]).

Brotherton, Broyerton (K.I., 345, 411 [1285–1316]).

Bertherton (C.C.R., i., 343 [1226–1257]).

Brotherton is developed either (1) out of O.E. *Brothratún*, *bróthra* being the gen. plur. of O.E. *bróthor* = a brother; hence, "the enclosure of the brothers"; or (2) out of O.E. *Brothortun* = the enclosure of a man called Brothor. The form *Bertherton* is the metathesized form of *Bretherton*, and *brether* is the mutated plural of *bróthor*, *bróther*; *cf.* Bretherton (Lancs.). The Danish place-names Brotherstedt, Brodersby, and Brorstrup (Nielsen, *Old danske Personnavne*, p. 15) may be compared with the Yorkshire Brotherton. The Scand. personal name Brothir occurs in the *Njals-saga*.

BROUGHTON.

Broctune (D.B., 95, 197 [1086]).

Brocton (C.C.R., i., 397 [1226–1257]).

Broghton (C.C.R., ii., 208 [1257–1300]).

Broghton, Broython (K.I., 15, 16, 191, 194 [1285–1316]).

Broughton, a name frequently met with in the north of England, goes back to O.E. *Broctun*, and is formed out of O.E. *bróc* = a brook, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The meaning is therefore "the enclosure by the brook."

BUCKDEN.

Buckeden, Bukeden (K.I., 19, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

Bukkeden (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1300–1325]).

Bukdeyn (P.T. [1379]).

The O.E. form of Buckden would be *Buccandenu*, the constituent elements being *bucca* = a buck, he-goat, and *denu* = a valley. But Bucca is also an O.E. personal name, so that the meaning may be either "Bucca's valley," or "the valley in which goats are kept."

BURGH WALEYS or BURGHWALLIS.

Burg (D.B., 102, 215 [1086]).

Burghwaleys (C.C.R., ii., 269 [1257–1300]).

Burgh, Burgh Waleis (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Formerly known simply as the Burg, *i.e.*, the fortified place or manor-house (O.E. *burh*), the place has added the name Waleys or Wallis, taking it from the family of Waleys or Walais which held lands here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sir Stephen le Walays and Sir Richard Walays are referred to several times in Kirkby's Inquest. See Newton-in-the-Willows.

BURLEY (WHARFEDALE).

Burhleg (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Burgelei, Burghelai (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Burgelay, Burghley, Burlay (K.I., 37, 209, 288 [1285–1316]).

Burley, as the early forms show, is from O.E. *burh* = a fortified place, a manor-house, and O.E. *léah* = a lea, clearing. The meaning is "the cleared land attached to the manor-house."

BURN.

Birne (P.Q.W., 188 [1279–81]).

Birn, Byrn, Burne (K.I., 48, 214, 284, 345 [1285–1316]).

Byrne (P.T. [1379]).

The M.E. spellings of Burn seem to have been *Birne* or *Byrne*, and it is probable that these forms go back to O.E. *Byrum*, *Byron*, the dat. plural of *Byre*. The O.E. word *byre* means, according to Sweet (*Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*), "a mound," but, according to Hall (*Student's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*), "a wood-pasture." The meaning of Burn, therefore, if traced aright, is either "on the mounds," or "in the wood-pastures."

BURNSALL.

Brineshale, Brinshale (D.B., 179, 195 [1086]).

Brineshale (R.A.G., 30 [1266–1279]).

Brynsall (M.F., ii., pt. i., 16 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Brinsall, Brynsall (K.I., 13, 189, 357 [1285–1316]).

Birnsall (V.E., 254 [1535]).

Burnsall (Y.D., 43 [1409]).

See Brinsworth. The termination is O.E. *halh* = a corner, or O.E. *hall* = hall, and the original form of the name would be *Biornwineshalh*, meaning "Biornwine's corner of land," or *Biornwineshall*, meaning "Biornwine's hall."

BURTON LEONARD.

Burtone, Burton (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

Burton (C.C.R., ii., 341 [1290]).

Burton, Burdon Leonard (K.I., 211, 295, 353 [1285–1316]).

BURTON-IN-LONSDALE.

Burton-in-Lonesdale (K.I. [1285–1316]).

Burton-in-Lonesdale (Y.L.S., 1, [1297]).

Burton-on-Trent and Burton in Warwickshire appear as *Burhtun* in O.E. charters (see Index to Kemble's *Codex*), and it is probable that this is the original form of the Yorkshire Burtons. The meaning is "the enclosure (*tún*) attached to a manor-house"; see Burley. But it is also possible that Burton is from O.E. *búr* = a cottage, giving as the meaning of Burton "an enclosure with a cottage built upon it." I have not traced the name Leonard in Burton Leonard to its source, but there is little doubt that it is the personal name of some manorial lord.

BYRAM.

Byrum, Byrom (K.I., 49, 56, 344, 383 [1285–1316]).

John de Byron (Y.I., ii., 169 [1294]).

Byram probably derives its name from the O.E. word *býrum*, the dative plural of O.E. *býre* = a cow-shed, byre. The meaning of Byram is accordingly "at the cow-sheds"—*æt thém býrum*. John de Byron, whose name appears above, is accordingly "John of the cow-sheds," *býron* being already in O.E. times a weakened form of *býrum*. The O.E. *býre*, a cow-shed, must not be confused with O.E. *byre*, a mound, or a wood-pasture (see Burn).

CADEBY.

Catebi (D.B., 119, 180 [1086]).

Cateby (Y.I., i., 175 [1277]).

Cateby (K.I., 231, 282 [1285–1316]).

Cadeby (V.E., 42 [1535]).

It is evident that in Cadeby an original *t* has, before the middle of the sixteenth century, given place to *d*, and the same change has also taken place in the Lincolnshire and Leicestershire Cadebys, which are spelt *Catebi* in Domesday Book. The M.E. *Cateby* is from O.N. *Kataby*, Kata being the dative case of the personal name Kati, which appears in the Norwegian place-names *Kattekross* and *Katterud*. The meaning of Cadeby is therefore "Kati's farm."

CALTON.

Caltun (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Calton (K.I., 22, 190 [1285–1316]).

Stephen de Calton (K.I., 190 [1285]).

Calveton (C.C.R., iii., 44 [1304]).

The form *Calveton* in the Charter Roll suggests that Calton goes back either to O.E. *calf* = a calf, or to O.E. *calu* = bare—hence, "the enclosure for calves," or "the bare enclosure." But this spelling lacks support, and the probability is that the first element in Calton is O.E. *cál* or O.N. *kál* = cabbage, kale. Calton accordingly means "an enclosure or field of cabbages, a kale-yard."

CALVERLEY.

Kalverlaia (C.C., 1 [temp. Hen. II. or Rich I.]).

Calverle (A.G.R., 74 [1236]).

Calverlay, Calverley (K.I., 30, 33, 226 [1285–1316]).

Caverleia, Cauerlei (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

The O.E. form of Calverley would be *Calfraleah* or *Cealfraleah*. *Calfra* is the genitive plural of O.E. *calf*, *cealf*, and the meaning is therefore "the calves' meadow." The name may be compared with Calverton (Notts., Bucks.), which is spelt *Calvreton* in Domesday Book, and with Chalcroft (Glos.), which appears as *Calfrecroft* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 559). In Chalcroft, fronting of the *c* to *ch* has taken place.

CAMBLESFORTH.

Camelegford (C.C.R., iii., 167 [1311]).

Camelesforde, Canbesford, Gamesford (D.B., 154, 185, 199, 212 [1086]).

Camelisford, Camelesford (C.C.R., iii., 168 [1311]).

Camblesforth (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

It is fortunate that such a spelling of this place-name as *Camelegford* has been preserved, or the unwary investigator might have interpreted the name as "the ford of the camel!" There can be little doubt that *Camelegford* is a weakened form of O.E. *Cameleacesford* = the ford of Cameleac. Cameleac is in all probability a Celtic name, for it appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the name of a tenth century bishop of Llandaff. But it seems as though Cameleac, before being used as a personal name, was a Celtic place-name, going back to a Romano-Celtic form *Camiliacum*, and signifying "the place of Camilius"; (see Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*).

Camiliacum gives us Mod. French Chambly and Chemillé, and, apparently also, the Somersetshire village-name Cameley.[1]

CAMPSALL.

Cameshall, Kemeshal, Camsale (A.G.R., 15, 46, 85 [1225–1255]).

Camesale (T.E., 299 [1291]).

Camesall (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Camsale, Campsale (C.C.R., ii., 436 [1294]).

Cansale (D.B., 101, 215 [1086]).

The O.E. form of this name was probably *Cameshall* or *Cameshalh*, the termination being either O.E. *hall* = a hall, royal residence, or O.E. *halh* = a heel or corner of land. The first element in Campsall is probably a personal name, and, inasmuch as names beginning with Cam are unknown in Old English, but not unusual in Celtic, it is natural to suppose that the settler who has given his name to Campsall was of Celtic extraction; *cf.* Camblesforth, and also the Romano-Celtic place-name Camalodunum. With the glide sound *p* in Campsall *cf.* Brampton and Hampton, and the personal name Simpson. See foot-note.

CANTLEY.

Canteleia, Cantelie (D.B., 155, 214 [1086]).

Canteley (R.A.G., 36 [1272]).

Cantelay, Canteley (K.I., 5, 8, 231 [1285–1316]).

The Yorkshire place-name Cantley is in its origin identical with the *Cantanleah* of Birch's *Cartularium* (61). Underlying both is the O.E. personal name Canta, a contracted form of Cantwine, a name recorded in Domesday Book. The meaning is accordingly "the lea of Canta or Cantwine."

CARLESMOOR.

Carlesmor (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

Carlesmor (V.E., 253 (1535]).

Carl or Karl is the Scandinavian form of the O.E. personal name *Ceorl*, and of modern English Charles. The termination is O.E. *mór* = a moor, swamp, uncultivated ground, and the meaning of Carlesmoor is therefore "the moor or swamp of Carl."

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1. Mr. Battersby regards *Camelegford* as a scribal error, and is of the opinion that in Camblesforth, and also in Campsall, there has been an unvoicing of an initial *g* to *c*. He is, accordingly, of the opinion that the first element in Camblesforth is the O.N. personal name Gamall, and in Campsall the O.N. personal name Gammi. Both these names are met with in Scandinavian records, but I feel doubtful about the unvoicing of initial *g* to *c*.

CARLINGHOW.

Ralph de Kerlinghowe (W.C.R., ii., 90 [1307]).

Kerlinghowe, Carlinghou (K.I., 224, 279 [1285–1316]).

This is a pure Scandinavian name. Carling is the O.N. *kerling* = a woman, an old woman, a derivative from O.N. *karl* = a man; *cf.* the Scottish word *carline*. The termination is O.N. *haugr*, M.E. *hogh, howe* = a how, a burial mound, and the probable meaning is "the old woman's burial mound"; *cf. Kerlingara* (= the old woman's river) and *Kerlingarfjördr* (= the old woman's fiord) in Iceland, so called because of an old woman who was washed ashore there during the voyage of Eystein from Norway to Iceland (see *Landnamabok*, part iv., cap. 13).

CARLTON (par. Snaith).

Carletun, Carletona (D.B., 185, 199 [1086]).

Carleton (K.I. 215, 285 [1285–1316]).

Carleton juxta Sneythe (C.I.P.M., i., 256 [1315]).

CARLTON (par. Guiseley).

Carletun (D.B., 125 [1086]).

Carleton (K.I., 33, 42 [1285–1316]).

Carleton (P.T. [1379]).

CARLTON (Craven).

Carlentone (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Carleton (K.I., 15, 201, 355 [1285–1316]).

Carleton (P.T. [1379]).

CARLTON (par. Royston).

Carlentone, Carleton (D.B., 108, 216 [1086]).

Carleton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Carleton (P.T. [1379]).

This is the Scandinavian form of the English Charlton, which is common in the southern counties of England, and appears in Kemble's *Codex* again and again as *Ceorlatun* = the enclosure of the *ceorlas* or free men. The original form of Carlton would be *Karlatun*, *karla* being the gen. plural of O.N. *karl* = a man, a freeman; see Introduction, p. xvi. The form *Carlentone* points back to *Carlanatun*, and shows the substitution of the O.E. weak gen. plur. *carlana* for the strong form, *carla*.

CARTWORTH.

Cheteruurde, Chetcuuorde (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Cartewrth (W.C.R., i., 82, 120, 270 [1274]).

It is probable that *Cheteruurde*, the D.B. spelling of Cartworth, is correct, and that the form Cartworth arose through popular etymology and the association of the name with the familiar word 'cart' (O.E. *cræt*, *cært*). If so, Cartworth may be compared with the place-name Kettering, which is spelt *Cateringe* in D.B., and *Cetering*, *Kyteringas*, in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 984, 575), and with Keteringham (*Keteringham*, K.C.D., 1339). It is possible that a personal name Cathere, Cethere, or Ceathere underlies all these names; *cf.* Catterton. If, however, the D.B. spellings of the name be disregarded, it is natural to connect Cartworth with O.E. *ceart*, *cert*, which means a piece of ground overgrown with brushwood, and which still exists under the form 'chart' (=a rough common overrun with gorse) as a dialect word.

CASTLEFORD.

Casterford (Simeon of Durham, ii., 127 [c. 1130]).

Cesterford (Roger of Hoveden, i., 56 [12th century]).

Castreford, Castelford (C.C.R., i., 109, 110 [1230]).

Castelford (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The early spellings of Castleford show that the word *castle* from the Latin *castellum* has replaced the older *caster*, *cester*, from the Latin *castrum* through O.E. *cæster*. Castleford is accordingly "the ford by the *chester* or Roman fortress."

CASTLEY.

Castelai (D.B., 28, 223 [1086]).

Will de Castelley (K.I. 45, [1285]).

Castellay, Castelay, Casteley, (K.I. 45, 203, 293, 349[1285–1316]).

Castlay (C.C.R., i., 342 [1249]).

The Latin word *castellum* was introduced into O.E., before the year 1000, with the meaning 'a village,' and this use of the word lingered on for a long time side by side with its usual meaning 'a fortress,' which entered the language through Norman-French *castel* (see N.E.D., 'castle'). In Castley we probably have an instance of this original O.E. use of the word 'castle'; the O.E. form of the name was probably *Castelleah*, meaning "the village meadow."

CATTAL.

Catala, Cathale (D.B., 178, 220 [1086]).

Cattehall (M.F., ii., part i., 15, 33 [temp. Ric. I.)].

Cathalle, Cathale, Magna Cathel (K.I., 45, 205, 211, 295 [1285–1316]).

Catall (P.R., viii., 52 [1164]).

The first element in this name is probably the O.E. personal name *Catta* or the O.N. *Kati* (see Cadeby). There is some uncertainty as to the termination: it may be (1) O.E. *léah* = a lea, clearing, the contraction in this case being identical with that in Adel (*q.v.*); (2) O.E. *halh, healh* = a corner; (3) O.E. *hall, heall* = a hall, large building. The meaning is accordingly "the lea or corner or hall of Catta or Kati."

CATTERTON.

Cadretune, Cadretone (D.B., 175, 206, 219 [1086]).

Alan de Catherton, Kaderton (K.I., 16, 19 [1285]).

Catherton, Cathirton (K.I., 29, 221, 290, 343 [1285–1316]).

Cathreton, Caterton (C.C.R., iii., 145, 148, 150, 161 [1300–1325]).

Catterton in Yorkshire may be compared with Catherington (Hants.), which is spelt *Cateringatun* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 722). In either case the first element is apparently the personal name Cathere, but this name is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, though he mentions Catta and Catwal; *cf.* the Teutonic names *Catumer* and *Catualda*, mentioned by Tacitus in his *Annals*.

CAWOOD.

Kawuda (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972]).

Cawuda (B.C.S., iii., 567 [972]).

Cawode (C.C.R., ii., 269 [1283]).

Cawode, Cawod, Kawod, Cawood (K.I., 345, 390 *et passim* [1285–1316]).

Cawood may mean "the jackdaw wood," the constituent elements being M.E. *ca* (Scottish *kae*) = a jackdaw and O.E. *wudu*, M.E. *wude, wode* = a wood. There is some uncertainty as to the origin of M.E. *ca* = a jackdaw. It is generally thought to be of Scandinavian origin (*cf.* Danish *kaa*), the O.E. form being *céo*.

CAWTHORNE.

Caltorne, Caltorn (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Calthorn (C.C.R., i., 110 [1230]).

Calthorn (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Cawthorn (V.E., 56 [1535]).

I am inclined to derive Cawthorne from O.E. *calu* = bare, bald, callow, and O.E. *thorn* = a thorn; but it is possible that the first element is the O.N. personal name *Kali, cf. Kallerup*, formerly *Kalætorp* in Denmark. The choice, therefore, lies between "the bare thorn" and "Kali's thorn." With the development of *al* into *au, aw, cf.* Auckley.

CHELLOW.

Celeslau (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Chelleslawe (C.C.R., i., 374 [1251]).

Cheleslawe (Y.I., ii., 75 [1288]).

Joh. Chellowe (F. of Y., i., 149 [1433]).

The first element in this name is apparently the O.E. personal name *Ceol*, which also appears frequently in compounds like *Ceolwine*, *Ceolsige*, *Ceolric*. There was a king of Wessex of the name of Ceol towards the close of the sixth century. The name enters into the formation of the O.E. place-names *Ceolescumb* and *Cheolesburh* (= Chelborough, or Chalbury, Dorset), as given in the Index to Kemble's *Codex*. The termination is O.E. *hláw*, *hlǽw* = a hill, mound, so that the meaning of Chellow is "the hill or mound of Ceol."

CHEVET.

Cevet (D.B., 109, 217 [1086]).

Chevet (Y.I., i., 2 [1243]).

Chivet, Chivot (R.A.G., 39, 60 [1230–1233]).

Edmund de Chyvet (W.C.R., ii., 24 [1298]).

Chevet (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

It is possible that the O.E. form of this name was *Ceafet*, with which may be compared the place-name Cheveley (Camb.), which appears as *Cheaflea*, for an earlier *Ceafleah*, in an eleventh century charter (K.C.D., 734). The first element seems to be O.E. *ceaf* = chaff, but the idea of Cheveley as a chaff-field or chaff-meadow is somewhat vague in meaning. The termination in Chevet is apparently the rare O.E. termination *-et*, which appears in O.E. *rýmet* = space, room, extent, a derivative from O.E. *rúm* = (1) roomy, spacious; (2) a room, open space. The exact meaning of the termination *-et* is uncertain, but it may be that Chevet indicates "a place where chaff was stored."

CLAPHAM.

Clapeham (D.B., 31 [1086]).

Clapeham (C.C., 255 [1443]).

Clapham (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

Clapham in Surrey appears as *Cloppaham* in a Kentish charter of the date 871–889 (see Kemble's *Codex*, 317), and this form is weakened to *Clopeha'* in Domesday Book. It is probable that the Yorkshire and Surrey Claphams go back to an original *Cloppanham*, *Clappanham*, or *Clapanham*, in which the first element is the gen. case of the personal name Cloppa, Clappa, or Clapa. Clappa

appears as the name of a sixth century king of Bernicia in Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle* (vol. i., p. 6), and Osgod Clapa is the name of a famous viking who ravaged England in the eleventh century. The termination is either O.E. *hamm*, *homm* = an enclosure, or O.E. *hám* = a home, and the meaning of Clapham is therefore "the enclosure, or home, of Clapa, Clappa, or Cloppa."

CLARETON.

Clareton, Claretone (D.B., 14, 181, 221 [1086]).

Clareton, Clarton (K.I., 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Clareton (T. de N., 363 [temp. Hen. III.—Ed. I.]).

In an O.E. charter of the year 949 Clare appears as the name of a witness (see Kemble's *Codex*, No. 426), and it is possible that Clareton is derived from this personal name. The O.E. form would be *Clarantún* = the enclosure of Clare. The same name appears in Claro (older forms *Clarehowe*, *Clarhowe*), the name of the wapentake in which Clareton is situated, and the meaning of which may be "Clare's how or hill" (O.N. *haugr*).

CLAYTON (par. Bradford).

Claitone, Claiton (D.B., 114, 116, 218 [1086]).

Clayton (K.I., 227, 361 [1285–1316]).

Claytona (C.C.R., iii., 176 [1311]).

Clayton (C.C., 166 [1349]).

CLAYTON (WEST).

Claitone, Clactone (D.B., 108, 216 [1086]).

Claiton (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Clayton (P.T., [1379]).

Clayton is constructed out of O.E. *clég* = clay and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure; hence "an enclosure of land on clayey soil"; *cf.* *Clægwyl* (= Claywell, Worcs.), and *Clægbroc* (= Claybrook, Worcs.), which occur in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 570, 651). In the Domesday Book spelling *Clactone*, the *c* probably stands for the *g* of O.E. *clég*; *cf.* D.B. *Osprinc* = Oxspring.

CLECKHEATON.

Hetun, Hetone (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Heton Clack, Claketon, Heton Flattes (K.I., 30, 244, 279, 361 [1285–1316]).

Clakheton (C.C.R., iii., 334 [1317]).

Clakheton (C.B.K., 277 [1348]).

Cleckheaton was once simply *Heaton* or *Heton*, *i.e.*, the enclosure of land on high ground (O.E. *Heahtun*, *Hehtun*, from *héah*, *héh* = high, and *tún* = an enclosure. To this there was sometimes prefixed, and sometimes added, the distinguishing name Clack or Clac. Clac is a personal name ; it appears commonly in Peterborough charters of the tenth century and enters into the formation of the local names Claxton and Claxby, which are spelt *Clachestone* and *Clachesbi* in Domesday Book. The name is probably Danish—see Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*, 'Klakki'—but I have failed to trace the connection of any person of the name of Clack with Cleckheaton.

CLIFFORD.

Cliford (D.B., 66, 211 [1086]).

Clifford, Clyfford (K.I., 50, 214, 284 [1285–1316]).

The name Clifford occurs in exactly the same form in the charters of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 531, 667, 1097) and is formed out of O.E. *clif* = a cliff and O.E. *ford* = a ford. The meaning is accordingly " the ford by the cliff."

CLIFTON (par. Dewsbury).

Cliftone (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Clifton (C.C.R., ii., 404 [1291]).

Clefton (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

CLIFTON (par. Conisborough).

Cliftune, Clifton (D.B., 127, 204 [1086]).

Clyfton (K.I., 359 [1285–1316]).

Clifton is the O.E. *Cliftun* = the enclosure by the cliff ; see Clifford.

CLINT.

Clynt (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Clint (C.C.R., iii., 139 [1310]).

The name Clint is probably from the Danish or Low-German word *klint* = a rock, cliff. The O.N. form of *klint* is *klettr*, *nt* becoming *tt* in O.N. at a very early period. The place-name Clinton (Hunts.), which appears as *Clinton* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 581, 809) is, in like manner, " the enclosure by the rock."

CLOTHERHOLME.

Cludun (D.B., 132, 221 [1086]).

Clutherum, Cluderum (M.F., ii., part i., 9 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Clotherum (C.C.R., iii., 184 [1311]).

Clotherom (K.I., 331, 435 [1285–1316]).

Cletherum (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

This is a difficult name, and it is evident from the forms which appear above that the termination *-holme* is not original. The D.B. form of the name, *Cludun*, if any reliance is to be placed upon it, is apparently a weakened form of O.E. *Cludum*, the dat. pl. of O.E. *clúd* = a rock, hill. This would give us 'among the rocks,' or 'on the hills' as the meaning of Clotherholme. But it is probable that the M.E. forms *Cluderum*, *Clutherum*, *Clotherum* are connected with the dialect word *clitter* (of which *clatter* and *clutter* are variant forms), meaning 'a pile of loose stones, debris from the side of a hill' (see Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*, 'Clitter'). Early forms of *clutter* or *clitter* are not found, but whether of English or Scandinavian origin, its dative plural would end in *-um;* and for this *-um* has been substituted, in the place-name Clotherholme, the O.N. termination *holmr*, *i.e.*, a piece of land surrounded or almost surrounded by water.

COLDCOTES.

Caldecotes (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Caldcots (V.E., 228 [1535]).

Coldcotes means "the cold cottages," "the cottages on a cold, exposed situation." The constituent elements are O.E. *cald* = cold, and O.E. *cot* = a cottage.

COLLINGHAM.

T[r]stin de Collingeham (P.R., xi., 84 [1166]).

Colingham (C.C.R., ii., 193 [1275]).

Colingham, Colyngham, Collyngham (K.I., 39, 41, 209 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Collingham would be *Collingaham* = the home (O.E. *hám*) or enclosure (O.E. *hamm*, *homm*) of the Collings or sons of Coll or Colla. Coll, Colla, and the patronymic Colling are all recorded as O.E. personal names in Searle's *Onomasticon*, and in addition to these there are the Scandinavian names Kolli, Kolla, and Kollr.

COLTON (par. Bolton Percy).

Coletune, Coleton (D.B., 175, 206, 219 [1086]).

Colton (C.C.R., i., 343 [1249]).

Colton (K.I., 24, 217 [1285–1316]).

COLTON (par. Whitkirk).

Coletun, Colletun (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Colton (K.I., 210 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Colton is probably the O.E. personal name *Cola* or *Colla*, or the cognate O.N. names *Kolli* or *Kolla*. The meaning of Colton is therefore "the enclosure of Cola, Colla, Kolla, or Kolli." The same name appears in Cowthorpe (*q.v.*) with the development of *ol* to *ow*.

CONEYTHORPE.

Conyngesthorp (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Robert de Conigthorp (R.A.G., 282 [1275]).

Conystrope (Y.F., i., 292 [1564]).

This is a Scandinavian name, the O.N. form of which would be *Konungsthorp*, formed out of O.N. *konungr* = a king, and O.N. *thorp* = a village; hence "the king's village." The phonological development of the name, as indicated by the forms given above, is as follows: *Konungsthorp* > *Conyngesthorp* > *Conigesthorp* > *Conigthorp* > *Coneythorpe*. With the development of *Konungs* into *Coney*, *cf.* Coney Street = King's Street, York, and Coneysthorpe in the North Riding.

CONISBOROUGH.

Cunugesburh (K.C.D., No. 1298 [1002]).

Coningesborc, Coningesburg, Cuningesburg (D.B., 126, 205, 212 [1086]).

Conyngesburg, Cunynggesburgh (K.I., 3, 359 [1285–1316]).

Conisburgh (Speed's Map [1610]).

The original Scandinavian form of Conisborough is *Konungsborg* = the king's fortress. The *o* of the O.N. *borg* is kept in the Domesday spelling *Coningesborc*, but the other forms show the substitution of the O.E. *burh*, *buruh*. See Coneythorpe.

CONISTON (COLD).

Cuningestone, Coningeston, Coneghestone (D.B., 30, 135, 196, 224 [1086]).

Conyngeston (C.C.R., iii., 292 [1316]).

Conyston, Coniston in Cravene (K.I., 16, 189, 202 [1285–1316]).

CONISTON (near Kettlewell).

Conyngston, Conigeston in Cotelwoldale, Conyston in Kettlewelldale (K.I., 14, 192, 357 [1285–1316]).

Cunestune (D.B., 195 [1086]).

See Conisborough and Coneythorpe. Coniston goes back to O.N. *Konungstun* = the king's enclosure; with the prefix Cold in Cold Coniston, *cf.* Coldcotes, Cold Hiendley, Cold Kirby, etc.

CONONLEY.

Cutnelai (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Thos. de Cuniglaye (A.G.R., 194 [1270]).

Cuniglay (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Coningley, Condeley (K.I., 13, 189, 190 [1285-1316]).

Conundelay (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

Conondly (Speed's Map [1610]).

Cononlay (Y.F., i., 81 [1538]).

This is a difficult name, and the spellings given above vary considerably. The forms *Coningley* and *Cuniglay* point back to O.N. *konungr* = a king, as the first element in this name; and this would make of Cononley "the king's meadow." But the *Cutnelai* of D.B., and the later forms *Conundelay* and *Condeley*, make it probable that *Coningley* is a corruption of an older and less familiar name. It is possible that the D.B. form *Cutnelai* should be *Cuthnelai* (with the common substitution by D.B. clerks of *t* for *th*), and that this goes back to the O.E. personal name Cuthmund, found in the Durham *Liber Vitae;* while the form *Conundelay* of the Calendar of Inquisitions is probably from Konthmundr, the O.N. form of O.E. Cuthmund. The modern form, Cononley, has in all probability developed out of the form *Conundelay*.

COOKRIDGE.

Cucheric (D.B., 66, 211 [1086]).

Cukeriz, Kukerig, Cukrik, Cukrik (C.B.K., 5, 78, 285, 293 [from 1192]).

Cugeriz (C.C.R., i., 225 [1236]).

Cuckerigge (Y.F., i., 296 [1564]).

The spellings of Cookridge given above all point back to *Cucanhrycg* as the O.E. form of this name, the meaning being "the ridge or hill-top of a man called Cuca." The O.E. personal name Cuca appears again in the place-name Cockhill in Somerset which is spelt *Cucanhealas* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 401), and, as Professor Skeat has pointed out to me, in the *Cucandun* of Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii,. 140.

COPGROVE.

Copegrave (D.B., 172, 221 [1086]).

Ric. de Coppegrave (R.A.G., 197 [1270]).

Coppegrave (K.I., 205 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Copgrove was probably *Coppangraf;* this brings the name into line with Copley and Copford, which appear as *Coppanleah* and *Coppanford* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 178, 699). The first element may be the personal name Coppa, which does not occur in any O.E. records, but the German form of the name—Coppo—is found in Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch.* The termination is O.E. *gráf* = a grove of trees, and the meaning of the whole may therefore be "Coppa's grove." It is also possible that the first element in Copgrove may be O.E. *coppa,* a head; hence, "the head or top of the grove."

COPMANTHORPE.

Coupeman'ethorp (P.Q.W., 189 [temp. Ed. I.]).

Copeman Torp (D.B., 171 [1086]).

Coupmantorp (R.W.W., 328 [1284]).

Coupmanthorp (K.I., 24, 223 [1285–1316]).

Ric. Copemanthorp (F. of Y., i., 144 [1430]).

Copmanthorp is a pure Scandinavian name. The M.E. spellings of this name lead us back to the O.N. *Kaupmannathorp,* where *Kaupmanna* is the gen. pl. of the word *kaupmathr* = a chapman, trader (O.E. *ceápmonn*). The meaning of Copmanthorpe is therefore "the village of the traders." *Kaupmans,* the gen. sing. of *kaupmathr,* appears in the Norwegian place-names *Kommesrudh* (older form, *Kaupmanzrudh*) and *Komnes* (older form, *Kaupmańsnes*); see Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne,* p. 158. The O.E. cognate form *ceápmonn* or *cýpman* appears in the place-name *Cýpmanna del* = the traders' share of land (B.C.S., 179, 628). Professor Wyld points out to me that the village of Capernwray in S.E. Lancashire appears in thirteenth century charters as *Coupmanwra, i.e.,* the traders' corner.

COTTINGLEY.

Cotingelai, Cotingelei (D.B., 171, 174, 211 [1086]).

Cotingeleye (C.C.R., ii., 269 [1283]).

Cottingleye (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1311]).

The O.E. form of Cottingley would be *Cotingaleah* or *Cottingaleah.* The first element is the *-ing* patronymic of the O.E. personal name Cota or Cotta, and the meaning of the whole is "the meadow of the sons of Cota or Cotta"; *cf.* Cottingham which is spelt *Cotingham* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 984). Cotta appears as the name of a seventh century English abbot in two of Kemble's charters (Nos. 84, 97).

COWLING (HILL).

Collinghe (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Collinge (C.C.R., ii., 222 [1279]).

Colling (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Collynge, Colling (K.I., 14, 193, 357 [1285–1316]).

Joh. Cowlyng (F. of Y., i., 271 [1550]).

Cowling—also spelt Cooling—in Kent appears in an eighth century Latin charter of King Offa under the form *Colling* (see Kemble's *Codex*, No. 121), and it is probable that Cowling in Yorkshire is to be traced back to O.E. *Collinge*. If so, Cowling is an instance of those place-names ending in the patronymic *-ing* without the addition of *-ham -tun*, *-leah*, etc. (see Introduction, p. xli.–xlii.). The meaning would seem to be "(the enclosure) of the Collings or sons of Coll." The personal name *Coll*, either alone or combined with *-man*, *-noth*, *-swegen*, or in the patronymic form *Colling*, is very common in O.E. documents.

COWTHORPE.

Coletorp (D.B., 132, 220 [1086]).

Colthorp (Y.I., ii., 100 [1289]).

Colthorp (K.I., 45, 203, 293 [1285–1316]).

Couthorp, Coutorp (C.C.R., i., 388 [1252]).

The D.B. form *Coletorp* probably goes back either to O.N. *Kollathorp* = the thorpe, or village of Kolli, or to O.N. *Kolluthorp* = the thorpe of Kolla. Kolli is a man's name; Kolla, a woman's. The name *Cola*, probably for O.N. *Kolli*, appears in the Yorkshire portion of Domesday Book.

CRACOE.

Crakehowe, Crackhou (K.I., 15, 189, 357 [1285–1316]).

Crakehowe (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

Crachou (C.C.R., i., 463 [1257]).

The M.E. form *Crakehowe* leads us straight back to the O.N. *Krakahaugr*, where *Kraka* is the genitive case of the O.N. personal name *Kraki*. Kraki means literally 'a stake,' and then is used as a nick-name for men of tall and spare stature, as in the case of the legendary Danish king, Rolf Kraki. Kraki as a personal name appears in the Norwegian local names Krakestad, Krakerud, Kraakdal; see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 169. The termination *haugr* means a hill, mound, burial mound, so that the meaning of Cracoe is "Kraki's hill, or Kraki's burial mound." Mr. Battersby points out that the first element in this name may be M.E. *crake*, from O.N. *kráka* = a crow, rook; hence, "the crow's hill."

CRIDLING STUBBS.

Credeling (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Crideling (C.I.P.M., i., 243 [1311]).

Cridling Stubbs (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Cridling is apparently the patronymic form of a personal name Cridel, Credel, or Crydel, which, in its turn, is a diminutive of Creoda, Crioda or Cryda. This was the name of the first king of Mercia, and it enters into the formation of the following place-names of Kemble's *Codex: Creodan ác*, *Creodan hyl*, *Criodan treow*, *Crydanbricg* (Nos. 262, 1035, 1033, 1201). The M.E. *Crideling* probably goes back to O.E. *æt Crydelingum* = at (the abode of) the sons of Creoda. To this has been added the word 'Stubbs' = the tree stumps, from O.E. *stub*, *styb*. See Stubbs Walden and Stubbing.

CRIGGLESTONE.

Galfr' de Crichelest' (P.R., ix., 45 [1165]).

Crigheleston (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Crikeleston, Crigileston, Crigliston (C.C.R., iii., 152, 160 [1300–1326]).

Crigestone, Crigeston, Crigest' (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

The most primitive of the forms appearing above is probably *Crichelest'*, *i.e. Cricheleston*, which I am disposed to trace back to an O.E. form *Crichelmestun* or *Crycchelmestun* = the enclosure of Crichelm or Crycchelm. Searle does not record the name Crycchelm in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, but it seems a possible name, constructed out of O.E. *crycc* = a staff, crutch, and O.E. *helm* = protection, protector.

CROFTON.

Crofton (Dodsworth MS. [temp. Hen. I.]).

Crofton, Croffeton (K.I., 228, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

Crofton (P.T. [1379]).

Scroftune, Scrotone (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

No reliance can be placed on the Domesday spellings of this name, nor on the form *Croffeton* of the *Nomina Villarum*. Crofton is constructed out of O.E. *croft* = a small field, a croft, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. Crofton (Hants.) appears as *Croftone* in Domesday Book.

CROOKES.

Croches, Croche (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Crokks (V.E., 174 [1335]).

Crokes (Y.F., i., 185 [16th cent.]).

This name comes from the O.N. word *krókr*, which means a crook, a winding, a nook. The meaning of Crookes is accordingly "the nooks, the secluded corners." In the charters of B.C.S. we find the compound *Crochyrst* = the wood or thicket in a corner (B.C.S., 1125).

CROSLAND.

Crosland, Croisland (D.B., 112, 218 [1086]).

John de Crosland (W.C.R., ii., 10 [1297]).

Crossland (Dodsworth MS. [1302]).

Crosseland (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

The meaning of the name is "a piece of land by the cross." The word 'cross' exists in late O.E., but is probably a borrowing from O.N. *kros*, the O.N. word coming from Latin *crux*, *crucem*, through the Irish *cros*. Place-names beginning with *Cross-* are rare in Domesday Book, but common in the *Landnamabok* and other Scandinavian records. The reason is that the O.E. word for the cross was *ród* = Mod. E. *rood*, from which is derived the place-name Rodley. It is probable, therefore, that the word Crossland is Scandinavian; *cf.* Crosby, Crossthwaite, Crossdale, and other similar formations met with in those parts of England where the Scandinavian influence was strong.

CROSTON or CROSS STONE.

Cru'betonestun (D.B., 13 [1086]).

Croston (Kn. W., i., 23 [1529]).

Cross Stone (C.B. Map [1789]).

It is not quite certain that the *Cru'betonestun* of D.B. is to be identified with the modern village of Croston or Cross Stone, but such is probably the case. The *Cru'betonestun, i.e., Crumbetonestun* of D.B. was somewhere in the Calder valley, and it is quite possible for it to have become corrupted into Croston. Not very much reliance can be placed upon the form *Crumbetonestun*. The first element looks like a personal name, but Crumbeton as a personal name is impossible, and I am disposed to think that the original form was *Crumbestanastun* = the enclosure by the leaning stones, the constituent elements being O.E. *crumb* = crooked, leaning, O.E. *stán* = a stone, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure.

CUDWORTH.

Cutheworth, Cotheworthe, Cudeworthe (R.A.G., 27, 200 [1268]).

Cutheworth (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The probable O.E. form of Cudworth was *Cuthanworth*, in which *Cuthan* is the genitive case of the personal name Cutha. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*anno* 731) we hear of a Cutha who was father of the Northumbrian king, Ceolwulf, and the name is associated with other O.E. royal houses. It is almost certainly a contracted form of one of the many O.E. names compounded with *Cuth-*, *e.g.*, Cuthwine, Cuthbeorht, Cuthwulf, etc. Cudworth means, therefore, "the farmstead (O.E. *wurth*) of Cutha, Cuthwine, or Cuthbeorht."

CULLINGWORTH.

Colingauuorde (D.B., 174 [1086]).

Collingworthe (V.E., 67 [1535]).

Cullingworth (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

See Collingham. The O.E. form of Cullingworth would be *Collingawurth* = the farmstead of the sons of Coll or Colla.

CUMBERWORTH.

Cu'breuurde, Cu'breuuorde (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Cumberwrth (T. de N., 367 [temp. Hen. III.–Ed. I.]).

Cumbrewode (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

There can be no doubt that Cumberworth is identical in origin and meaning with Comberworth in Worcestershire, which appears as *Cumbranweorth* in a charter of the year 972 (K.C.D., No. 570); *cf. Cumbranwyl* (K.C.D., 1145) = Cumberwell (Hants.), and *Cumbrehol* (K.C.D., 568) = Comberhole (Lincs.). *Cumbran* is the genitive singular of the personal name Cumbra, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in an entry of the year 755. The meaning of Cumberworth is, accordingly, "the farmstead of Cumbra."

CUSWORTH.

Cuzeuuorde, Scusceuurde (D.B., 119, 127, 213 [1086]).

Cussewortham (C.C.R., i., 371 [1251]).

Cusseworth (V.E., 47 [1535]).

The D.B. spelling *Scuscewurde* may be dismissed without comment as a scribal error, and the probability is that the M.E. forms *Cuzeuuorde* and *Cusseworth* go back to the O.E. *Cusanwurth*, with which may be compared the *Cusanricg* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1169). The name *Cusa*—also *Cúsa*—appears in a number of O.E. charters (see Searle's *Onomasticon*) as a personal name, and the meaning of Cusworth is therefore "the farmstead (O.E. *wurth*) of Cusa"; *cf.* the Danish place-name *Kudserup*, from an earlier *Kusethorp*, derived from O.D. *Kusi*, a cognate form of O.E. *Cusa*.

DACRE.

Dacre (D.B., 173, 222 [1086]).

Dakra, Dacra, Daker (M.F., ii., part i., 9, 45 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Dacre (V.E., 290 [1535]).

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede speaks of a river called Dacore —*Dacore amnis*—which is usually identified with the Cumberland river Dacre, on which stands the village of Dacre and Dacre Castle. It is extremely probable that the Yorkshire village of Dacre also goes back to the same O.E. form, *Dacore*. Professor Anwyl is of the opinion that the name is Celtic, and that its original form was *Dacorion*. He adds that "as there was a Celtic personal name Dacorios, found as a man's name on an inscribed stone now at Bonn, Dacre may have originally meant 'the homestead of Dacorios.'" See Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, 'Dacore,' 'Dacorius.'

DALTON (par. Kirkheaton).

Dalton, Daltone (D.B., 113, 217 [1086]).

Dalton (C.C.R., i., 471 [1257]).

Dalton (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

DALTON (par. Rotherham).

Dalton, Daltone (D.B., 127, 131 [1086]).

Dalton, which is a very common Yorkshire place-name, means "the enclosure in the dale" (O.E. *Daltun*). The first element is O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr* = a dale, valley.

DARFIELD.

Derefeld, Derfeld (A.G.R., 21, 253 [1267–1275]).

Derfeld (K.I., 4, 230 [1285–1316]).

Darfelde (T.E., i., 93 [1540]).

Dereuueld, Dereuuelle (D.B., 185, 213 [1086]).

The D.B. forms of Darfield show some uncertainty as to the termination of the name, the fluctuation being between O.E. *feld* = a field, and O.E. *well*, *wella* = a spring, well. The later forms, however, point clearly to O.E. *feld*. The first element in Darfield may be one of three things: (1) O.E. *Dere* = the inhabitants of Deira, the name of the old Northumbrian kingdom which roughly corresponds to the modern Yorkshire; (2) the O.E. personal name Deora, which is found in O.E. records, both alone, and in composition with *-noth*, *-wulf*, *-laf*, etc.; (3) it may stand for O.E. *déor*, gen. plur. *déora* = deer; *cf.* Darton. The O.E. form of Darfield may therefore have been (1) *Derafeld* = the field of the Deirans, or (2) *Deoranfeld* = the field of Deora, Deornoth, Deorlaf, etc., or (3) *Deorafeld* = the deer-field.

DARRINGTON.

Dernington (C.C.R., iii., 91 [1307]).

Darnintone, Darnitone (D.B., 104, 215 [1086]).

Darthyngton (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Dardinton (C.C.R., i., 110 [1230]).

Darrington (V.E., 67 [1535]).

The phonological problem in this name is that of reconciling the forms in which an *n* follows the *r* (*Dernington*, *Darnintone*) with those in which *th* or *d* follows it (*Darthyngton*, *Dardinton*). The consonants *n* and *th* or *d* are in no sense interchangeable, and the probability is very great that both the *n* and the *th* were in the original name. Everything points, therefore, to *Deornoth* as the personal name which is concealed in modern Darrington, and to *Deornothingtun* = the enclosure of Deornoth, as the original form of the name. For this use of *-ing*, see Introduction, p. xli. The name Deornoth is met with in several of the O.E. charters in the codices of Kemble and Birch. *Deornothingtun* would be at a very early period weakened to *Dernethington*, from which *Derthington* or *Darthington* would proceed by the syncope of the *ne*, whereas *Darninton* or *Darnington* is the result of the dropping of the *th*. Finally, both the *th* and the *n* have disappeared, giving us modern Darrington; but it is difficult to say whether *Darrington* has developed out of *Darthington* or *Darnington*. The various changes may be tabulated as follows:

Deornothingtun < *Dernethington* < *Darnington* < *Darrington*.
Deornothingtun < *Dernethington* < *Darthington* < *Darrington*.

DARTON.

Dertune, Dertun, Dertone (D.B., 27, 108, 216 [1086]).

Derton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Joh. de Darton (F. of Y., i., 52 [1356]).

As there is no such form as *Deretun* for Darton given above, it is hardly necessary to associate the name with the people of Deira or with the personal name Deora; see Darfield. It is probable that the O.E. form of Darton was *Deortun* = the deer enclosure, the constituent elements being O.E. *déor* = an animal, a deer, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure; *cf.* Durley (Worcs.), which appears as *Deorleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 507).

DEIGHTON (KIRK).

Distone (D.B., 155, 223 [1086]).

Dicton (C.C.R., iii., 149 [1310]).

Dichton (C.C.R., i., 459 [1257]).

Magna Dighton, Suth Dithon (K.I., 45, 205, 294, 349 [1285–1316]).

Rob. Deighton (F. of Y., ii., 262 [1742]).

The substitution of *s* for palatal *c* in the D.B. spelling of Deighton is one of the common errors of the scribes who compiled the work; *cf.* D.B. *Dreslington* = Drighlington, D.B. *Lastone* = Laughton. The O.E. form of Deighton would be *Dictun* = the enclosure by the dyke or ditch, and it is interesting to note that whereas in Deighton a palatal *g*—seen in the spellings *Dighton* and *Deighton*—has taken the place of the O.E. palatal *c*, in the Kentish and Cambridgeshire Dittons, which appear as *Dictun* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 685, 929), there has been an assimilation of *ct* to *tt*.

DENABY.

Denegebi, Degenebi (D.B., 118, 213 [1086]).

Denigby, Deningby, Denyngby (K.I., 2, 12, 283, 365 [1285–1316]).

Denyngby (P.T. [1379]).

Denyby (V.E., 174 [1535]).

Denaby (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

This place-name shows a good deal of variation in its early spellings, but I am inclined to think that the O.E. form was *Denigaby*, formed out of O.E. *Deniga*, the gen. plur. of *Dene* = the Danes and Danish *by* = a village; hence, "the Danes' village." The D.B. spelling, *Degenebi*, looks like a metathesized form of the other D.B. spelling, *Denegebi*, while the later *Deningby* for *Denigby* shows the substitution of the familiar patronymic *-ing* for an earlier *-ig*.

DENBY.

Denebi (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

Hen. de Denebi (P.R., xxv., 118 [1175]).

Deneby (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Will. de Deneby (F. of Y., i., 75 [1376]).

See Denaby. I am inclined to think that Denby is another form of Denaby, being formed out of O.E. *Dena*, another form of *Deniga*, the gen. plur. of O.E. *Dene* = the Danes. It is, however, also possible that the first element in the name is O.E. *denu* = a valley.

DENT.

Deneth (C.C.R., i., 367 [1251]).

Deneth (P.Q.W., 196 [1279–81]).

Thomas de Denet (Y.D., 194 [n.d.]).

Dent (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

Dent (P.T. [1379]).

If *Deneth* is an older form of Dent than *Denet*—and this seems to be the case—difficulty arises with this name. The first element may well be O.E. *denu*, a valley, but what is the termination? It is possible that *Deneth* goes back to an earlier *Denhæth* in which the second element is O.E. *héth*, a heath, waste land. This would give us "the waste land in the valley" as the meaning of Dent. But it is also possible that the termination is cognate with the *-ethe*, *-ede*, which is found in many place-names in Saxony and neighbouring parts of Germany; *e.g.*, Amethe, Dorpede, etc. The old German form of this ending is *-ithi*, but its meaning is somewhat uncertain. (See Jellinghaus, *Die westfälischen Ortsnamen*, pp. 26–29).

DENTON.

Dentun (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Dentune, Dentun (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Denton (K.I., 44, 204 [1285–1316]).

Dentun, the O.E. form of Denton, is probably compounded of O.E. *denn* = (1) a hollow between hills, or (2) a pasture for swine, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The meaning is, therefore, either "the enclosure in a hollow," or "the enclosure for the purpose of feeding swine."

DEWSBURY.

Deusberia, Deusberie (D.B., 14, 218 [1086]).

Dewesbiry, Dewesbur', Deaubir', Dyaubir' (R.A.G., 20, 170, 192 [1266–1279]).

Deuuesbury (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that the first element in Dewsbury is a personal name, and it is possible that this name is the Celtic Dewi = David. This would give us "the fortified place of Dewi" as the meaning of Dewsbury, and *Dewisbyrig* or *Dewesbyrig* as its O.E. form. In K.C.D., 570, mention is made of a place called *Deawesbroc* in Worcestershire, which also seems to preserve, in its first element, some form of the name David, and Professor Wyld draws my attention to the Lancashire Dewsnape from an earlier *Dewisnape*. In the Yorkshire Poll-Tax returns for 1379 the personal name Dewey occurs several times.

DINNINGTON.

Dunintone, Dunnitone, Domnitone (D.B., 117, 127, 212 [1086]).

Dynington (R.A.G., 34 [1271]).

Dinigton (R.A.G., 27 [1268]).

Donyngton (C.C.R., iii., 301 [1316]).

In O.E. records the names Dunn, Dunna and Dunning are commonly met with, together with the forms Dynne and Dynning. The forms Dunington and Donyngton go back to the O.E. personal name Dunn or Dunning, but the modern form, and those of Archbishop Giffard's Register, point to O.E. Dynne. The meaning of Dinnington is therefore "the enclosure of Dynne"; *cf.* Dinningden (Glos.), which is spelt *Dynningden* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 385).

DODWORTH.

Dodesuurde, Dodesuuorde (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Dodewrd (P.C., 18 [1090]).

Aldred de Dudewurda (P.R., xvi., 71 [1170]).

Dodeworth (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Doddeworth (C.C.R., iii., 23 [1301]).

It is doubtful whether the *Doddesuurde* of Domesday Book is a more primitive form than the almost contemporary *Dodewrd* of the Pontefract Chartulary. But the difference between the two forms is easily reconciled; *Dodes* is the genitive case of the strong personal name Dod, or Dodd, while *Dode* is for O.E. *Dodan* or *Doddan*, the gen. sing. of the weak form Doda or Dodda. Dodd, Doda, and Dodda are all found as personal names in O.E. charters, and the probability is that they are contracted forms of Dodman, Dodmund, Dodric, or Dodwine. This would make the meaning of Dodworth to be "the homestead (O.E. *wurth*) of Dodman, Dodmund, Dodric, or Dodwine."

DONCASTER.

Danum (Antonine's Itinerary [100–200]).

Donecastre (D.B., 67, 70 [1086]).

Donecestre (K.C.D., 1298 [1002]).

Donecastre (K.I., 231 [1285–1316]).

Doncaster (C.P.R., i., 516 [1290]).

Danecastr' (P.R., ii., 15 [1160]).

Danecastrum (C.C.R., i., 146 [1232]).

Denecastre (R.A.G., 28 [1268]).

Doncaster probably owes its name to the river Don, by which it is situated, and the termination *-caster*, from Latin *castrum*, was added in the O.E. period to denote that the place had been a Roman fortress. The spelling *Denecastre* is interesting as showing that the place was at one time thought to be associated with the *Dene* or Danes.

DRAUGHTON.

Dracton (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

Drachton (Y.I., i., 174 [1276]).

Will de Drahton (R.A.G., 285 [1275]).

Draghton, Drayhton (K.I., 13, 191, 194, 357 [1285–1316]).

Draghton (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

Draughton (C.B. Map [1789]).

It is possible that the first element in Draughton is identical with that in Drax (*q.v.*), and that Draughton is another form of Drayton. While Drayton goes back to O.E. *Drægtun*, Draughton is apparently from the form *Dragtun;* the meaning would be "the enclosure (*tún*) with a place of shelter (*dræg*, *drag*) upon it." But it is also possible that the first element in the name is O.E. *draca* = a dragon, which, as the famous Elizabethan name Drake clearly shows, was also used as a personal name. This would give us "Drake's enclosure" as the meaning of Draughton, and *Dracantun* as its O.E. form. The objection to this derivation is that the D.B. spelling ought to be *Draceton* instead of *Dracton*. Mr. Battersby draws my attention to the O.N. *drag*, a gentle slope, a valley, and it may well be that Draughton owes its name to this word rather than to the obscure O.E. *dræg*.

DRAX.

Ealdredrege, Ealdedrege (B.C.S., iii., 269 [959]).

Dracas (C.B.S., i., 7 [1154]).

Drac (D.B., 154, 212 [1086]).

Drache (Walt. of Coventry, i., 183 [1293–1307]).

Draxe (C.I.P.M., i., 93 [1287]).

Drax (K.I., 215, 344, 438 [1285–1316]).

There can be little doubt that Birch was right in identifying the place spelt *Ealdredrege* and *Ealdedrege* in a charter of King Edgar (A.D. 959) with the modern Drax. But the name should have been printed as two words—*Ealdre Drege* or *Ealde Drege*, corresponding to what was subsequently known as Old Drax in contradistinction to *Kirk Drax* or Church Drax, an adjoining hamlet. The form *Drege* is probably connected with the somewhat obscure O.E. word *dræg* or *gedræg* which exists to-day in the form *dray*—a squirrel's dray—and enters into the formation of the place-name Drayton, which is spelt *Drægtun* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1213). The word probably meant "a dwelling-place," "a place of shelter," and in the forms *Ealdre Drege* or *Ealde Drege* we have the use of the word in the dative or instrumental case. But the modern form Drax must have come from the nominative plural form, *Dragas*, and the meaning of Drax (O.E. *Ealde Dragas*) was probably "the old dwelling-places." In the form *Dracas* of the Selby Coucher Book (A.D. 1154), a *c* has

crept into the place of the original *g*, while the modern form Drax has resulted from the dropping of the inflexional vowel *a*. Mr. Battersby would connect Drax with the O.N. *drag* = a gentle slope (see Draughton), and he regards the *-drege* in the *Ealdedrege* of Birch's Charter as a Kentish or Mercian spelling of this word.

DREBLEY.

Drebelaie (D.B., 179 [1086]).

Drebley (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Early spellings of this word are hard to find, but it seems probable that the first element in the name is O.E. *dræbbe, drebbe* = refuse, dirt, and that the meaning of Drebley is "the dirty lea." The verb 'to drab' = to sprinkle with dirt, and the noun 'drab' = a stain, spot, are recorded for Yorkshire in Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*.

DRIGHLINGTON.

Dryghtlyngton (C.C., 258 [1444]).

Drightlington (C.B.K., 289 ([n.d.]).

Drighlington, Drithlington, Drittlington (K.I., 30, 227, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

Dreslingtone, Dreslintone (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

There is a good deal of variation in the early spellings of this name, but the probability is that *Dryghtlyngton* is the most primitive of all those recorded above, and that this form goes back to the O.E. *Dryhthelmingtun* = the enclosure of Dryhthelm, or to *Dryhtwaldingtun* = the enclosure of Dryhtwald. The name Dryhthelm occurs in Bede, and in the 'D' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but is less common than Dryhtwald, which is found in O.E. charters, and, under the form Druchwald, in Folcard's *Life of St. John of Beverley* (see Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, i., p. lviii.).

DRINGHOUSES.

Drengehous (C.I.P.M., i., 125 [1295]).

Drenghus (C.C.R., i., 387 [1226–1257]).

Drynghouses, Dringgenhus (K.I., 29, 343 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name is the O.N. *drengr* = a bachelor, a soldier, which was introduced into our language as *dreng* already in O.E. times, and which appears frequently in M.E. as *dreng* or *dring*. The original form of the name was probably *Drengahus, drenga*, being the gen. plur. of O.N. *drengr* and O.E. *dreng*. The meaning of Dringhouses is therefore "the houses of the soldiers"; see Introduction, p. xxiii. Mention is made in *Yorkshire Deeds* (p.131), of land at *Drengebrigge* in Parlington; here we have another record of the O.N. *drengr; cf.* Dringhoe, in the East Riding.

DUNSFORTH.

Dunesforde, Dunesford, Doneforde (D.B., 172, 193, 199, 220 [1086]).

Dunnesford (C.C.R., ii., 269 [1283]).

Dunnesford, Dunsford (K.I., 45, 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Dunsforth (C.B. Map [1789]).

The first element in this name is the O.E. personal name Dunn or Dun, which we meet with commonly in O.E. charters, and which appears in the place-name *Dunnes stigele* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 997). It is probably a contracted form of Dunstan, Dunweald, Dunfrith, etc. The meaning of Dunsford is therefore "the ford (over the Ouse) of Dunn, Dunstan, Dunweald, etc."

EARBY.

Eurebi (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Everby (Y.I., i., 86 [1260]).

Euerby (C.C.R., ii., 482 [1300]).

Everby (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

Rob. de Ereby (F. of Y., i., 56 [1361]).

Nath. Earby (F. of Y., ii., 151 [1678]).

This is a Scandinavian name which has developed out of an earlier form *Everby* by the loss of medial *v*. The first element is possibly the O.N. *efri* = upper, higher, which gives us "the upper farm," "the upper village," as the meaning of Earby. Nielsen, however, in his derivation of the Scandinavian names Everlöf and Everdrup assumes the existence of a personal name Ewri (*Olddanske Personnavne*, p. 23).

EASINGTON.

Esintune (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Esington, Esyngton (K.I., 16, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Easington (C.C.R., ii., 430 [1257–1300]).

The Domesday Book spelling of Easington has lost the *g*, but Easington in the North Riding appears as *Esingetun* in Domesday Book. The O.E. form would be *Esingatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Ese or Esa. The name Ese is found in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, and in O.E. charters; in early Scandinavian records it appears under the form Esi.

EASTBURN.

Estbrune, Esebrune (D.B., 29, 162 [1086]).

Esteburn (C.B.K., 186 [n.d.]).

Estbrunne (C.Cl.R., i., 40 [1272]).

Estburn (K.I., 15 [1285–1316]).

Eastburn is what it seems to be—"the east burn, or stream." The O.E. form would be *se éasta burna*. Most of the forms given above show the substitution of O.N. *brunnr* for O.E. *burna*, but it is the native form which has prevailed.

EASTBY.

Esteby, Esby (K.I., 14, 191 [1285–1316]).

Estby (C.C.R., i., 463 [1257]).

See Eastburn. Eastby is formed out of O.E. *éast* = east, and Danish *by* = a farm, hamlet, village.

EASTOFT.

John de Essetoft (W.C.R., ii., 163, 166 [1308]).

Estoft (C.C.R., i., 374 [1251]).

Estoft (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The first element in not O.E. *éast* = east, but the O.N. personal name *Esi*, which is recorded by Nielsen in his *Olddanske Personnavne*, and is cognate with O.E. *Ese*, which appears in the patronymic form *Esing* in Easington (*q.v.*). The termination is O.N. *topt*, *toft* = a grassy mound, a homestead. The meaning of Eastoft is accordingly "the homestead of Esi."

EAVESTONE.

Euestone (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Eveston, Eyveston (K.I., 331, 436 [1285–1316]).

Eveston (Y.D., 65 [1321]).

It is natural to connect Eavestone in Yorkshire with Evesham in Worcestershire, which is spelt *Eofesham* in a number of O.E. charters and means "the home of Eof." This would give us *Eofestun* = the enclosure of Eof, as the O.E. form of Eavestone. But it is also possible that the first element in Eaveston is O.E. *efese* = (1) the eaves of a house, (2) the edge of a forest, which would give "the enclosure on the edge of the forest" as the meaning of Eaveston; *cf.* Eavesley (Hants.) which is spelt *Efsleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (750), and the hamlets called Eaves, in Stafford and Lancashire, and Eaves Hall, near Clitheroe.

ECCLESFIELD.

Eclesfeld, Eclesfelt (D.B., 119, 213 [1086]).

Eklesfeld, Ecclesfeld (K.I., 3, 358, 408 [1285–1316]).

The place-names Ecclesfield and Eccleston have been discussed at some length in the Introduction to this volume (pp. vii., viii.), and there is no need to repeat the views there set forth. If those views are correct, the meaning of Ecclesfield is "the church field."

ECCLESHILL.

Egleshil (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Eccleshill (K.I., 362 [1285–1316]).

Alayn de Ekkelsill (C.C., 118 [circa 1320]).

Eccleshill (C.C., 264 [1451]).

See Ecclesfield. The meaning is "the church hill."

ECCUP.

Echope (D.B., 66, 211 [1086]).

Echopa, Ecop (C.B.K., 246, 286 [n.d.]).

Eccup (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Although I have not found *Ecehope* or *Eccehope* as a M.E. form of Eccup, it is possible that the O.E. form was *Eccanhop* = the marshy enclosure of a man called Ecca. Ecca is the name of a son of Ida, the sixth century king of Bernicia, and it also appears in O.E. charters and in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.

EDLINGTON.

Edelington (C.C.R., ii., 475 [1299]).

Edelington, Edelyngton (K.I., 5, 9, 230, 281 [1285–1316]).

Edlington (Y.I., ii., 45 [1286]).

Ellintone, Eilintone (D.B., 130, 214 [1086]).

Edelington is the true M.E. form of Edlington, but it is not quite clear what was the original O.E. name. Edlington (Lincolnshire) goes back, through the D.B. form *Adelingetone*, to O.E. *Æthelingatun* = the enclosure of the princes, and the etymology of the Yorkshire Edlington may be identical with this, in spite of the D.B. spellings *Ellintone*, *Eilintone*. It is, however, more probable that the O.E. form was *Eadwulfingatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Eadwulf. The O.E. name *Eadwulf* appears, under the weakened form *Edulf*, among the list of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book, and the change from *Edulfingtun* to *Edulington* and *Edelington* is normal. Edlington is therefore either "the enclosure of the princes," or "the enclosure of the sons of Eadwulf." In support of the latter derivation, it may be noticed that Edlingham (Northumberland) appears as *Eadulfingaham* in Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*.

EGBROUGH.

Egeburg, Egburg, Eburg, Acheburg (D.B., 106, 215 [1086]).

Eggeburg (C.C.R., i., 343 [1249]).

Eggeburgh (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The form *Acheburg* is without support, and we may accept *Egeburg* or *Eggeburgh* as the true M.E. forms of this name. With these we may compare the *Egeham* (=Egham) and *Eggemæra* (=Egmere) of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 532, 759). The first element in all these names is probably the personal name Eggi, which is Scandinavian rather than English, and appears as Ecgi in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. This would give "the fortified place of Eggi" as the meaning of the name.

ELDWICK.

Helguic, Helwic (D.B., 171, 211 [1086]).

Will. de Helewike (Y.I., i., 136 [1273]).

Helwick (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Stephen de Ellewic (Y.D., 191 [1383]).

The above forms of this name indicate that Eldwick is a more or less corrupt form of M.E. *Helgwic*, *Helewike*, or *Helwic*. The first element in the name is probably the O.N. personal name Helgi, or its feminine form Helga: *cf.* Helvik in Norway, of which an early spelling is *Helgavik*. The meaning of Eldwick is accordingly "the dwelling-place of Helgi or Helga." Both these names are found in Ellis's list of Domesday Book tenants.

ELLAND.

Elant, Elont (D.B., 116, 218 [1086]).

Ric. de Eiland (P.R., xi., 83 [1167]).

Eland (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [t. Ric. I.]).

Eland (K.I., 30, 224, 279 [1285–1316]).

Ellande (Y.D., 157 [1546]).

There is an O.E. word *elland* which means a foreign country, a strange land, and this may be the origin of the place-name Elland, though it is difficult now to understand in what sense the word was used. But it should be noticed that the spelling of Elland with the double *l* is comparatively late, and that the early M.E. forms *Eland* and *Eiland* point to O.E. *éaland* or O.N. *eyland*=land surrounded or partly surrounded by water, as the origin of the name Elland. The spelling *Ealand* for Elland is found as late as 1772 in Jefferys' *Topographical Survey of Yorkshire*.

ELLENTHORPE.

Elwinetorp, Halwidetorp (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Elewinethorp, Elwynthorp (C.C.R., ii., 143, 163 [1270–71]).

Ellyngthorp (Y.F., i., 78 [1537]).

Elwine is the Mercian form of West Saxon Ælwine, and this goes back to an earlier Ælfwine, an extremely common O.E. personal name. It appears under the forms Æluuin, Aluuin and Eluuin as the name of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book. The termination of Ellenthorpe is O.E. or O.N. *thorp* = a village, and the original form of the name would be *Ælfwinesthorp* or *Elfwinesthorp* = the village of Ælfwine or Elfwine. The Domesday Book form *Halwidetorp* is without support.

ELMSALL (NORTH).

Elmeshale (T. de N., 365 [t. Ed. II.]).

Elmesall (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

North Elmesall (C.C., 270 [1459]).

Ermeshale, Ermeshala (D.B., 106, 215 [1086]).

ELMSALL (SOUTH).

South Elmeshall (K.I., 5 [1285–1316]).

Ermeshale (D.B., 101, 215 [1086]).

The Domesday form *Ermeshale* shows the substitution, on the part of Norman-French scribes, of *r* for *l* ; (*cf.* D.B. *Ampreforde*, *Ambreford* for *Ampleforde* = Ampleforth). It is possible that the first element in Elmsall is the personal name Elmer, which appears in the *Elmeres pol* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 432), and goes back to an earlier Ælfmær, a name commonly met with in O.E. records. Under the form Elmar, it appears as the name of a South Yorkshire landholder in D.B. The termination is probably O.E. *halh* = a corner, and the meaning of the whole may therefore be "the corner of land of Ælfmær."

ELSLACK.

Eleslac (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Elleslake (Y.I., i., 86 [1260]).

Elslake, Esslake, Estlac (K.I., 15, 190. 194, 196 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name seems to be the O.E. personal name Elle or Ælle, which was borne by a sixth century king of the old province of Deira, and which also appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The same name is found in Ellesborough (Worcs.), which appears as *Ellesbeorh* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1398). The

termination may be either O.E. *lacu* = a pond, lake, stream, or O.N. *lækr* = a stream, brook, or, as Mr. C. J. Battersby points out to me, O.N. *slakki* = a hollow, a 'slack.'

ELTOFTS.

Eltofts (K.I., 39 [1285–1316]).

Eltoftes (C.C., 271 [1456]).

Inasmuch as early spellings of this name are not easy to find, it is difficult to be sure of its origin. The fact that the first element, *El-*, is combined with the Scandinavian *topt*, *toft*, makes it probable that *El-* is also Scandinavian. Professor Rygh has shown in his *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne* that *El-* enters freely into the formation of Norwegian place-names, *e.g.*, *Elstad*, *Eltveit*, sometimes representing the personal name Eilifr, sometimes Elfr, sometimes Elin. The syllable *El-* also enters freely into the composition of English place-names, *e.g.*, Elworth, Elcomb; and the older forms of these—*Ellewurthie* (K.C.D., No. 1332), *Ellencumb* (K.C.D., No. 408)—show that they spring from the O.E. personal name Ella. The meaning of Eltofts may therefore be "the homestead (O.N. *topt*) of a Scandinavian called Elfr, Eilifr, or Elin, or, less probably, of an Englishman called Ella."

EMBSAY.

Embesie (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

Embesaya (C.C.R., iii., 51 [1305]).

Emmesay, Emmesei (K.I., 14, 357 [1285–1316]).

The first element here is the O.E. personal name Embe, which appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The medial *s* is, of course, the inflection of the genitive case, and the termination is the O.E. *ég*, *íeg* = an island, a water-meadow. The original form of Embsay would therefore be *Embeseg*, and its meaning, "the water-meadow of Embe."

EMLEY.

Emmeley (C.C.R., i., 431 [1253]).

Hen. de Emmelay (Y.I., i., 102 [1266]).

Emeley (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Amelai, Ameleie (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Little reliance can be placed on the Domesday spellings of this name, and the true early M.E. form was probably *Emmeley*. This probably goes back to O.E. *Emmanleah* = the lea or meadow of Emma.

ESHTON.

Estune (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Eston, Aston (C.C.R., ii., 208 [1278]).

Essheton, Eston, Heston (K.I., 14, 190, 192, 356 [1285–1316]).

Escheton (P.T. [1379]).

Essheton (C.C., 255 [1442]).

The recorded forms of this name, as given above, indicate a certain confusion as to the origin of the name. The forms *Eston, Aston*, point back to O.E. *Easttun* = the eastern enclosure. But *Essheton, Escheton*, and the modern form, point back to O.E. *Æsctun* = the enclosure by the ash-tree; and the fact that the ash-tree is called the 'esh' in most parts of Yorkshire is in favour of the second form.

FAIRBURN.

Fareburne (D.B., 100, 212 [1086]).

Sim. de Fareburn (P.R., xv., 43 [1170]).

Farburne (Y.I., i., 217 [1280]).

Farburn (K.I., 49, 214, 285 [1285–1316]).

The early forms of Fairburn make it clear that its meaning is not what at first sight it seems to be—the fair burn, the beautiful stream. The O.E. form of *fair* is *fæger*, and the M.E. forms of this are *fair, fayr*, not *fare*. The first element in the name is probably either O.E. *farr, fearr* = an ox, or O.E. *farh, fearh* = a pig, and the O.E. form of Fairburn would therefore be either *Farraburna* = the stream where the oxen feed, or *Faraburna* = the stream where the pigs feed; *cf. Fearburne* (K.C.D., 652, 1096), and Fareham (Hants.), which appears as *Fearrham* (= an enclosure for oxen) in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 642).

FARNHAM.

Farneha' (D.B., 14, 181, 221 [1086]).

Samson de Ferneha' (P.R., xi., 94 [1167]).

Farnham (K.I., 211, 353 [1285–1316]).

Kemble's *Codex* shows that Farnham in Surrey appears as *Fearnham* in a number of O.E. charters, where the constituent elements are O.E. *fearn, farn* = fern, and O.E. *hamm, homm* = an enclosure. Farnham in Yorkshire is either identical with this, or—allowing for the medial *e* in the forms *Farneha', Ferneha'*—arises out of O.E. *fearnig, farnig* = ferny, covered with fern; *cf.* Fernley (Worcs.), which appears as *Fearnigeleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 59). The meaning of Farnham is accordingly "the ferny enclosure."

FARNHILL.

Fernehil (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Alex. de Farnhyl (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Farnhill (K.I., 189, 190 [1285–1316]).

See Farnham. The O.E. form would be *Fearnhyll* or *Fearnigehyll* = the ferny hill.

FARNLEY (par. Leeds).

Fernelei (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Paulinus de Farneley (R.A.G., 134 [1267]).

Farnelay, Farneley (K.I., 30, 224, 279 [1285–1316]).

FARNLEY (par. Otley).

Fernelai, Fernelei (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Farnelay, Farneley (K.I., 204, 294 [1285–1316]).

FARNLEY TYAS.

Farnelay, Ferneley (K.I., 229, 292, 351 [1285–1316]).

Farnelay Tyas (Dodsworth MS. [1371]).

Fereleia, Ferlei (D.B., 112, 217 [1086]).

See Farnham and Farnhill. As noticed under Farnham, the O.E. form of Fernley in Worcestershire is *Fearnigeleah* = the ferny meadow, and there can be little doubt that the Yorkshire Farnleys all go back to the same form, or to the variant *Farnigeleah*, where the *a* is not broken to *ea* before the *rn*. The distinguishing name Tyas in Farnley Tyas is that of the Tyas family. Franco Tyas is mentioned as the owner of land in Farnley Tyas in the "Knights' Fees for Yorkshire."

FARSLEY.

Ferselleia, Fersellei (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Ferselay, Ferslai (K.I., 30, 226, 280 [1285–1316]).

Forseley, Fersley, Firslay (C.C., 86, 98, 101 [1308]).

Farselay (C.C., 166 [1349]).

It is doubtful whether any importance is to be attached to the double *l* in the D.B. spelling of Farsley; *Ferseley* seems to be the true early M.E. form. It is possible that the first element is O.E. *fyrs*, M.E. *firse*, Mod. E. *furze*. The objection to this is that the spelling *Firslay* for Farsley, though found in the Calverley Charters, is rare. A more likely origin is the O.E. adjective *fersc* = fresh, pure, sweet, from which the form *ferse* would develop in the same

way that the Scottish word *merse* has developed out of O.E. *mersc*. This would give us "the fresh meadow," or "the sweet meadow," as the meaning of Farsley, the termination being O.E. *léah* = a clearing, meadow.

FEATHERSTONE.

Fedrestana (P.C., 21 [1122]).

Fetherstan (P.R., ix., 47 [1166]).

Will. de Fetherstana (P.C., 182 [1246]).

Fetherstan (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Fredestan, Ferestane (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

The Domesday Book spelling *Fredestan* is probably a metathesized form of *Fedrestan*, which appears as *Fedrestana* in an early entry of the Pontefract Chartulary, and as *Fetherstan* in the Pipe Roll. The first element is clearly a personal name, and this may well have been O.E. Feader, which appears as the name of a huscarl of King Harthacnut, who was killed at Worcester in the year 1041 (see Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, vol. i., p. 195), and is either identical with or cognate with the O.D. name Fathir, which appears in the Danish place-names Fatherstorp, Fadestrup, etc.; see Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*, p. 24. The termination in Featherstone is O.E. *stán* = a stone, and the meaning of the name is therefore "the stone—probably the boundary stone—of Feader or Fathir."

FELLISCLIFFE.

Felgesclif (D.B., 14, 222 [1086]).

Fellesclife (Y.I., iii., 131 [1301]).

The first element in this name is obviously personal. The name *Felgeld* or *Felgild* is that of an anchorite whom Bede mentions in his *Life of St. Cuthbert* (cap. xlvi.), and the fuller forms Feligeld, Feolugeld, also appear in O.E. documents (see Searle). Felliscliffe may therefore be "the cliff of Felgild or Felgeld."

FENTON (CHURCH).

Fentun (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972]).

Fentun (D.B., 100, 212 [1086]).

Fenton (K.I., 346, 431 [1285–1316]).

Fenton, a common name in the low-lying districts of England, is compounded out of O.E. *fenn* = fen, marsh, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure; hence, "the enclosure in the fen, or reclaimed from the fen."

FERRENSBY.

Feringesby (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Feryngesby (Y.I., iii., 131 [1301]).

Ferrinsbie (Kn. W., i., 242 [1603]).

Feresbi (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

It is probable that *Feringesby* is the most primitive of the spellings of this name. If so, we may associate it with Ferring in Sussex, which appears as *Ferring* in K.C.D., 1008, 1015. The name Ferrensby is apparently Danish, and its probable meaning is "the farm of a man called Fering." Fering is probably the patronymic of the O.D. name Fiarir, which Nielsen—*Olddanske Personnavne*, p. 24—regards as the origin of the Danish place-names Fiarstorp and Ferslev.

FERRYBRIDGE.

Ferie, Fereia (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Apud pontem de Ferry (Y.I., ii., 111 [1290]).

Ferybrydge (Y.F., i., 108 [1543]).

At the time when Domesday Book was compiled, there was no bridge across the Aire at the point where Ferrybridge now stands, but only a ferry, which gave the place its name. The word 'ferry' does not exist as a noun in O.E., and the first record of it by the editors of the N.E.D. is from Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (c. 1425). Though connected with the O.E. verb *ferian* = to carry, transport, ferry, it is probably from O.N. *ferja* = a ferry. When the bridge was built, *Ferie* became *Ferebrigge*, *Ferebrig*, by the addition of M.E. *brigge*, *brig* (O.E. *brycg*) = a bridge.

FEWSTON.

Fosceton (C.C.R., ii., 241 [1280]).

Fostun (D.B., 14, 222 [1086]).

Fuiston, Fuyston, Fuston (Kn. W., i., 4, 9, 13, 27 [1512]).

Feuston, Fewston (V.E., 35, 255 [1535]).

Fewston has undergone curious sound-changes, but it is highly probable that the forms *Fostun* and *Foscetun* lead us back to O.E. *Foxatun*, which means "the enclosure of the foxes"; *cf.* Foxton near Northallerton, which appears as *Foston* and *Fouston* in D.B. The development of modern Fewston out of O.E. *Foxatun* was probably somewhat as follows: *Foxatun* > *Foscatun* > *Foston* > *Fouston* > *Fuiston* > *Fewston*, and the pronunciation *Fouston* [Faustən] may still be heard in the village. With the development

of the *sc* sound into *s*, *cf.* Flasby, and see Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, § 343. The development of O.E. *o* before *st* into *ua* is seen in the north-country pronunciation of *post* as *puast ;* see Wright, § 85. Mr. C. J. Battersby draws my attention to a parallel developement of *o* into *ew* in the place-name Skewsby, which appears as *Scoxebi* in D.B. and as *Scouceby* in "Yorkshire Inquisitions" (i., 257).

FISHLAKE.

Fiscelac, Fixcale (D.B., 127, 128, 205 [1086]).

Fiskelake (R.A.G., 160 [1269]).

Fisclac (C.C.R., i., 342 [1249]).

Fyshlak (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Fishlake is apparently developed out of O.E. *Fiscalacu ; fisca* is the gen. plur. of O.E. *fisc* = a fish, and *lacu* is the O.E. word for a pond, lake, stream ; hence the meaning of Fishlake is "the fish pond," or "the fish stream" ; *cf.* O.N. *Fiskilækr* = the fish-stream (*Landnamabok*, iii., 16).

FIXBY.

Fechesbi (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Fekesby (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Fekesby (W.C.R., i., 85 [1274]).

Fixby (Y.F., i., 79 [1537]).

The personal name *Fech*, standing for an earlier *Fec* or *Fecc*, appears in Domesday Book as that of a Yorkshire landholder, and it is apparently from the gen. sing. of this name that Fixby is derived, with the addition of the Scandinavian termination *by* = farm, village. The name does not seem to be Scandinavian, and it appears again in Hampshire, a county in which the Scandinavian element was undoubtedly slight, in the place-name Fexwood, which is the *Fecceswudu* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 752), while the weak form Fecca is seen in Feckenham (Worcs.), which is spelt *Feccanhom* (= the enclosure of Fecca) in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 186, 951).

FLASBY.

Flasceby (C.C.R., ii., 255 [1281]).

Flasceby (K.I., 14, 196, 357 [1285–1316]).

Adam de Flasceby (F. of Y., 23 [1326]).

Emma de Flasseby (F. of Y., 16 [1315]).

Flatebi (D.B., 196 [1086]).

FLAXBY.

Flasceby, Flasseby (K.I., 206, 295, 350 [1285–1316]).

Fflascheby (P.T. [1379]).

Flasseby (P.Q.W., 180 [1279–81]).

Flasby (Y.F., i., 292 [1564]).

Flatesbi (D.B., 172, 221 [1086]).

It is probable that Flasby and Flaxby are identical in origin, and the two names may be considered together. It is possible that they go back to an O.D. form *Flaksby*, in which the first element is the personal name Flak, which Nielsen associates with the Danish place-name Flastrup. The form *Flasceby* is due to metathesis of the *s* and the *k*, while the form Flasby is the result of the dropping of the *k*. Exactly the same changes are seen in the early forms of Fewston, in which an original *Foxatun* passes into *Fosceton* and then into *Foston*. The meaning of Flasby and Flaxby may therefore be "the farm of a man called Flak." The D.B. forms *Flatebi* and *Flatesbi* are without support, but it is just possible that they stand for an earlier form of the name than *Flaksby*. The substitution of *k* for original *t* is not uncommon in Scandinavian—see under Kexborough and Kexmoor. It is therefore possible that Flasby and Flaxby go back to an original *Flatsby*, *i.e.*, "the farm of Flatr," a personal name found in the *Orkneyinga Saga*.

FLOCKTON.

Flocheton, Flochetone (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

Floketon, Folketon (K.I., 228, 292, 351 [1285–1316]).

Petrus de Floctona (P.C., 133 [ante 1165]).

Flockton may be one of two things: (1) it may be derived from O.E. *Floccatun* = the enclosure of the flocks (O.E. *flocc*) of sheep or cattle, or (2) it may be from the O.N. personal name Floki, which appears in the *Flokadalr* of Iceland and in the *Flokeland*, *Floketveit*, *Flokenes* of Norway; in this case, the meaning would be "Floki's enclosure."

FOLLIFOOT.

Folifait, Folyfait, Folyfayt, Folishait (K.I., 45, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

Alan de Folifait, Folifet, Foulisfait (C.C.R., iii., 145, 148, 152 [1300–1326]).

Follifoote (Kn. W., ii., 124 [1632]).

In investigating this difficult name, it should first of all be mentioned that there is, or was, a place in the West Riding called Follithwaite, which appears as *Folifait*, *Folifayt*, *Folyfayt*, and *Folitwait* in Kirkby's Inquest and the *Nomina Villarum*. Now, in the

Fornmanna Sögur (vii., 51), mention is made of a man who bears the name *Folafotr*, which is evidently a nickname and signifies 'foal's foot.' I think it is possible that both Follifoot and Follithwaite derive their origin from a person of this name, and that the original spelling of both names was *Folafotsthveit* = the clearing (O.N. *thveit*) of Folafotr. What seems to have happened is that the two words *fotr* and *thveit* have coalesced, giving us *fait* in the case of Folifait, now Follifoot, and *thwaite* in the case of Follithwaite.

FOULBY.

Fokeby (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Robert de Foleby (F. of Y., 31 [1356]).

Foulby (Y.F., i., 184 [1555]).

Owing to the dearth of early forms of this name, it is not easy to determine its origin, but much may be said for deriving it from an original O.D. *Folkaby*, *i.e.*, "the farm of Folki." The personal name Folki is preserved in the Norwegian place-name Folkestad, and probably in the North Riding Foulbridge, which is spelt *Foukebrigg* in Kirkby's Inquest (p. 141), and with which may be compared the form *Fokeby* for modern Foulby.

FOULSTON.

Fugelstun (D.B., 217 [1086]).

Thos. de Fugeliston (W.C.R., i., 97 [1274]).

John de Fouleston (W.C.R., i., 118 [1275]).

Fuleston (W.C.R., i., 197 [1285]).

The O.E. word *fugol* = a bird, fowl, appears as a personal name in one of Kemble's charters (No. 1290), and, with the spelling *Fugul*, in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. It is this O.E. personal name *Fugol*, *Fugul*, *Fugel*, which appears in the place-name *Foulston*, *i.e.*, the enclosure of Fugol.

FRICKLEY.

Fricelei, Frichelie, Frichehale (D.B., 101, 121, 214, 215 [1086]).

Frikeley (Y.I., i., 8 [1247]).

Frickelay, Frikelay, Frikley (K.I., 4, 8, 231, 282, 359 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Frickley was probably *Fricanleah* or *Friccanleah*, with which may be compared the unidentified *Fricanpen* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1083). Searle does not record the name Frica or Fricca in his *Onomasticon*, and it may well be that Frickley is not from a proper name, but from O.E. *fricca* (= a herald), the gen. sing. of which is *friccan*. This would give us as the meaning of Frickley "the lea of the herald"—O.E. *Friccanleah*.

FRYSTON (FERRY).

Frythetune (B.C.S., iii., 695 [972]).

Fryssetune (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972].

Fristone (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Friston (C.C.R., i., 450 [1255]).

Frystone (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Frythetune and *Fryssetune*, which appear as variant forms of the modern Fryston in two copies of the same O.E. charter, are from a still earlier *Frithestun* = the enclosure of Frith. Frith is an O.E. personal name and a contracted form of Frithubeald, Frithugils, Frithulaf, Frithumund, or one of the other Frith- compounds. Frith appears in conjunction with the termination *-léah* = a lea, meadow, in the Kentish Friesley (K.C.D. *Frithesleah* (No. 1049.)).

GAISGILL, or GAZEGILL.

Thos. de Gasegill (F. of Y., 79 [1380]).

Gacegill (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

The hamlet of Gaisgill in Westmorland appears as *Gagesgille* and *Gasegille* in a charter of the Whitby Chartulary (p. 264, 266) of the year 1310. Here the first element may be associated with the O.N. adjective *gagr*, the meaning of which is ' thrown back,' ' bent back,' and the word seems to have been used as a nick-name for a conceited person who walked with his head thrown backwards (see Cleasby and Vigfusson). It is possible that the Yorkshire Gazegill goes back to the O.N. *Gagsgil*, meaning " the gill or ravine of a person nicknamed Gagr." If, however, the form *Gagesgille* be ignored, it is possible to associate Gaisgill with the Scandinavian personal name Gasi, which appears in the Norwegian place-names Gaaseby, Gasaholt, etc. (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

GARFORTH.

Gereforde, Gereford (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Gereford (C.C.R., iii., 113 [1308]).

Gereford, Gerford (K.I., 39, 208, 289 [1285–1316]).

Gerford (C.C., i., 173 [1366]).

Garforth (C.C., i., 184 [1366]).

The first element in this name is either the O.E. *Ger-*, *Gær-*, or, less probably, the cognate O.N. *Geir-*. These forms enter into the composition of a great number of O.E. and O.N. personal names, *e.g.*, O.E. Gærfrith, Gærhelm, Gærwine, O.N. Geirmundr, Geirlaug. Garforth is therefore the ford of a man who bore one of these names ; see Gargrave.

GARGRAVE.

Geregraue, Gheregraue (D.B., 30, 196, 224 [1086]).

Geyregrave (C.C.R., ii., 222 [1279]).

Geyrgrave, Gergrave, Gayrgrave, Gargrave (K.I., 16, 190, 193, 201, 356 [1285–1316]).

See Garforth. Two solutions are possible: (1) the forms *Geyrgrave*, *Gayrgrave*, may point to one of the O.N. personal names compounded with *Geir-*, *e.g.*, Geirmundr, Geirlaug; the termination is probably O.E. *græf* = a grave, trench, pit. The meaning of Gargrave is therefore "the trench or grave of the Scandinavian Geirmundr, Geirlaug, etc." (2) The first element of the name may be O.N. *geiri*, or O.E. *gára* = a triangular strip (of land), a gore; *cf.* O.N. *grasgeirar* = strips of grass among rocks. Thus interpreted, Gargrave means "the three-cornered trench."

GATEFORTH.

Rad. de Geiteford (P.R., ix., 47 [1166]).

Gayteford, Gaitford, Gateford (K.I., 48, 213, 284, 345, 403, 415 [1285–1316]).

The forms *Geiteford*, *Gayteford*, *Gaitford*, point to O.N. *geit* = a goat as the first element in this name. The gen. plur. of *geit* is *geita*, which would give us *Geitaford* as the original form of Gateforth, the meaning being "the ford of the goats."

GIGGLESWICK.

Ghigeleswic (D.B., 195 [1086]).

Gykeleswyk (T.E., 321 [1291]).

Gicleswik, Gigeleswike (K.I., 21, 200 [1285–1316]).

Gygeleswyk (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1311]).

This name is probably Scandinavian in origin, and I am disposed to connect it with the Norwegian dialect word *gigl* = loose, wavering, swaying to and fro, and the Swedish dialect word *gikkel*, which is identical in meaning. See Björkmann, *Scand. Loan Words in M.E.*, p. 153. Such an adjective might readily be used as a nickname, and Giggleswick may therefore mean "the dwelling-place of a man nicknamed Gigl or Gikkel," so called, because of his unsteady way of walking.

GIPTON.

Petrus de Gipetuna (P.C., 137 [1160]).

Petrus de Giptuna (P.C., 134 [1173]).

Gipton, Gypton (K.I., 34, 39, 208 [1285–1316]).

Chipertun, Chipetun, Cipetun (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

The D.B. spellings of this name show the substitution of *ch* or *c* for *g*; *cf.* D.B. *Chersintone* = Grassington. Accepting *Gipetun* as the true M.E. form of Gipton, we may, perhaps, connect it with the O.E. adjective *géap*, which means 'wide, spacious, broad.' The old Northumbrian form of O.E. *géap* is *gíp* (*cf.* Shipley), and it is this Northumbrian form which has entered into the composition of Gipton—O.E. *se gípa tun* = the wide enclosure; *cf. on géapan gáran* = in the wide tongue of land (B.C.S., 624).

GISBURN.

Gisilburn, Gisburn (K.I., 18, 199, 354 [1285–1316]).

Ghiseburne (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Giseburne, Gyseburn (C.C.R., ii., 32, 143 [1260–70]).

The most primitive of the forms given above is probably *Gisilburn* of Kirkby's Inquest, and this points to the O.N. *gísl* = (1) a hostage, (2) a bailiff, king's officer. The O.N. *gísl* is also very common as a proper name in O.N. under the forms *Gisli*, and as the second theme of such names as *Thorgisl*, *Authgisl*, or (with metathesis) Thorgils, Authgils. Gisburn accordingly means either "the stream (O.E. *burna*, O.N. *brunnr*) of the king's officers," or, more probably, "the stream of Gisli"; *cf.* Guiseley.

GIVENDALE.

Geveldale, Gevildale, Givendal, Gyvendalle, Gevingdale (K.I., 212, 313, 387, 400, 404, 406, 436 [1285–1316]).

Gyvenedal, C.C.R., i., 333 [1248]).

Geveldale (C.C.R., ii., 435 [1293]).

Gherindale (D.B., 42, 223 [1086]).

There is considerable variation in the forms of this name recorded above, and, putting aside the D.B. *Gherindale* as without support, we may still recognise two distinct forms—*Geveldale* and *Givendale*. The *Givendale* type points to the O.E. personal name *Gefwine*, which appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, while the *Geveldale* type points either to O.E. *Gefwulf*—a name which appears in the O.E. poem, *Widsith*—or to O.N. *Gjafvaldr*, which is found in the Norwegian place-names Gjevelstad, Gjevelsrud, Gjafvaldzgardr (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 90). It is the Gefwine form which has prevailed in the modern Givendale—"the dale of Gefwine."

GLUSBURN.

Glusebrun, Glusbrun (D.B., 135, 162 [1086]).

Alex. de Glusebruna (P.R., xv., 43 [1170]).

Gliseburn, Glusburn (K.I., 22, 355 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that this is a pure Scandinavian name, the first element in which may be the O.N. personal name *Gloethir*, gen. sing. *Gloethis*, which appears in the Norwegian place-names Glösvaag, Glöshaugen, Glosmyr, etc. (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 91). The termination is O.N. *brunnr* (= a stream, burn), which, under the influence of the cognate O.E. *burna*, has become *burn*. Glusburn may therefore be "the stream of Gloethir."

GOLCAR.

Gudlagesarc, Gudlagesargo (D.B., 112, 218 [1086]).

Ralph de Guthlacarwes (W.C.R., ii., 53 [1306]).

Ralph de Gouclocharwes (W.C.R., i., 282 [1297]).

Goutlackarres (Y.I., ii., 52 [1286]).

Guldekar, Guldecar, Goldecar, Goualacres (Dodsworth MS. [1337 *et post*]).

Golcar (Y.F., i., 71 [1535]).

Golcar is a name which has been worn somewhat thin in the course of centuries. The D.B. form, *Gudlagesarc* points back to O.N. *Guthlaugs*, the gen. sing. of the personal name *Guthlaug*, which is cognate with O.E. *Guthlac*. I am disposed to think that the original form of the termination was *ergh* (= a shieling, dairy-farm), from the Gaelic *aerg*, *airigh*, which was introduced into O.N. and appears commonly in the Scandinavian place-names of Caithness (*e.g.*, Asgrimserg, mentioned in the *Orkneyingasaga*), and in the Norse names of the English Lake-district (*e.g.*, Mansergh, Sizergh, Ninesergh). In such a form as *Goualacres* we see the O.E. *æcer* = a field, taking the place of the earlier *ergh*, while in *Guldecar* and the modern Golcar, *ergh* has given place to M.E. *ker*, Mod. E. *car*, from O.N. *kiarr* = a swampy copse. The original meaning of Golcar was accordingly "the dairy-farm of the Norseman Guthlaug," (*Guthlaugsairigh* or *Guthlaugsergh*).

Professor H. C. Wyld is disposed to trace Golcar to O.E. *Guthlacesharg*, in which the terminal is O.E. *hearg*, *harg*, M.E. *harwe* = a temple; *cf.* Harrow-on-the-Hill; hence, "the temple of Guthlac." See Appendix for Mr. Battersby's discussion of the termination *-ergh*.

GOLDSBOROUGH.

Hugo de Godelesburc (P.R., xv., 43 [1169]).

Rich. de Goddelesbur' (C.C.R., iii., 149 [1310]).

Rich. de Goldesburgh (C.C.R., iii., 156 [1310]).

Goldesburgh (K.I., 46, 206, 350 [1285–1316]).

Godenesburg, Godesburg (D.B., 154, 220 [1086]).

It is evident that the first element in Goldsborough is one of the personal names compounded with *God-*, included among which are Godwine, Godhelm, Godhild, Godmund, Godmær. The D.B. form *Godenesburg* points to O.E. *Godwinesburh*, but all the later forms, including modern Goldsborough, show medial *l* for *n*, and point to the O.E. names Godhild and Godhelm. The objection to Godhild is that it is a female name, and has therefore a genitive case *Godhilde*, not *Godhildes*. There remains the name Godhelm, which would give *Godhelmesburh* as the O.E. forms of Goldsborough = the fortress, or manor-house, of Godhelm. Note the metathesis of *Godles* to *Goldes*.

GOLDTHORPE.

Guldetorp, Goldetorp, Godetorp (D.B., 27, 120, 213 [1086]).

Goldthorpe (K.I., 3 [1285–1316]).

Goltorp (C.C.R., i., 5 [1227]).

Comparison may be drawn between Goldthorpe and Goldwell (Worcs.), which appears as *Goldewel* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 61). Golda appears as a proper name in Searle's *Onomasticon*, and the meaning of Goldthorpe is accordingly "the village of a man called Golda."

GOMERSAL.

Gomershale, Gomeshale (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Gomersale, Gomersalle (K.I., 30, 225, 279, 361 [1285–1316]).

Gomersale (C.C.R., iii., 334 [1317]).

The first element in Gomersal is probably the O.E. personal name Godmær, with subsequent assimilation of *dm* to *mm*. We may compare Godmersham in Kent, which appears as *Gomersham* in Domesday Book, and *Godmæresham* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 896, 974, 1030). The termination in Gomersal is probably O.E. *healh*, *halh* = a corner, and the meaning of the whole is therefore "Godmær's corner of land."

GRAFTON.

Graftune, Graftone (D.B., 27, 40, 172 [1086]).

Grafton (Y.I., iii., 129 [1300]).

Several places of this name are mentioned in the charters of Kemble's *Codex*, and the spelling is in each case the same—*Graftun*. The first element in the name is either O.E. *gráf* = a grove, or O.E. *græf* = a trench, grave, to which has been added O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The meaning of Grafton is accordingly either "the grove-enclosure, the enclosure by the grove of trees," or "the enclosure by the trench."

GRANTLEY.

Granteleia, Grantelai (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Elias de Grantelay (Y.I., i., 177 [1272]).

Grantelay, Granteley, Grantely, Grantele (K.I., 331, 417, 422 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name is probably identical with that in Grantchester, near Cambridge, and it is generally assumed that it is Celtic in origin. Dr. Henry Bradley, in dealing with Grantchester (*Essays and Studies*, p. 39), says that the British 'Grant' is perhaps identical with the Gaulish river-name Gerontona. The village of Grantley is near, but not on, a river.

GRASSINGTON.

Ghersintone, Chersintone (D.B., 29, 162 [1086]).

Gersington (C.C.R., ii., 250 [1281]).

Gersington (K.I., 19, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

Garsyngton (P.T. [1379]).

Gressington (C.I.P.M., i., 263 [1315]).

Grassington (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

The simplest and most natural derivation of Grassington is from O.E. *gærs*, *græs*, or O. Scand. *gras* = grass + O. Scand. *eng*, M.E. *ing* = a meadow + O.E. or O. Scand. *tún* = an enclosure; hence, "the grass-meadow enclosure." O.E. *græs*, of which *gærs* is the metathesized form, appears in M.E. as *gras*, *gres*, and *gers*, and it is the last of these three forms which seems to be most frequently found in M.E. spellings of Grassington.

GREASBOROUGH.

Gersebroc, Greseburg, Gresseburg (D.B., 118, 127, 128, 212 [1086]).

Gresebrok (C.C.R., iii., 138 [1310]).

Gresebrok, Gressebrok, Grissebrok, Grysebrok (K.I., 3, 11, 233, 283, 365 [1285–1316]).

Gressebroke (V.E., 42 [1535]).

Greasborough (C.B. map [1789]).

The termination *-borough* in Greasborough has a certain amount of support from the Domesday Book forms *Greseburg*, *Gresseburg*, but it seems highly probable that the original termination was O.E. *bróc* = a brook. The first part of the name is O.E. *gærs*, *græs*, M.E. *gras*, *gres*, *gers*, Mod. E. *grass*; or, allowing for the medial *e* which appears in all the early spellings of Greasborough, we derive it from the adjective *gærsig*, *græsig* = grassy. The meaning is therefore "the grassy brook."

GREETLAND.

John de Gretland (W.C.R., i., 174 [1277]).

Gretland (Y.F., i., 80 [1537]).

Greteland (Y.F., i., 333 [1566]).

Greland (D.B., 218 [1086]).

The first element in Greetland may be O.E. *gréat* = great, large, or O.E. *gréot* = gravel, grit, sand. The meaning of Greetland is therefore either "the great estate," or "the gravelly land, the gravelly estate"; *cf.* Gretton, Northants. (K.C.D., 809, *Grettun*), and Gritbourn, Hants. (K.C.D., 597, *Greotburne*).

GREWELTHORPE.

Torp (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

Growelthorpe (Y.I., ii., 100 [1290]).

Gruelthorp (Y.I., ii., 101 [1290]).

Groulethorp (K.I., 205 [1285–1316]).

This is a Scandinavian name, and the first element is probably the O.N. personal name Graulfr, *i.e.*, the grey wolf, formed out of O.N. *grár* = grey and O.N. *ulfr* = wolf, and appearing as Graulf in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The O.N. Graulfr would become M.E. *Groulf*, which, with the addition of O.N. *thorp* (= a village), would give *Groulfthorp* or *Grouelthorp*. The meaning of the name is accordingly "the village of a man called Graulfr or Greywolf." In Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* occur the personal names Grauvolf, Graulf, Graolf, and the place-names *Graulfesheim*, now Grolsheim, near Bingen, and *Craolfestal*, now Grafstall, near Zürich. All these names are from German forms of the English 'grey wolf.'

GRIMSTON.

Grimestun, Grimeston (D.B., 101, 211, 212 [1086]).

Grymeston, Grimeston (K.I., 215, 285, 345, 388, 399 [1285–1316]).

Grimestona (C.C.R., iii., 113 [1308]).

The O.N. personal name Grímr (O.E. Grim), either alone or in combination with some other theme, enters into the formation of a number of Scandinavian and English place-names, of which the most familiar is the Lincolnshire Grimsby. The meaning of Grimston is "the enclosure (O.E., O.N. *tún*) of Grimr or Grim."

GRIMTHORPE.

Grimtorp, Grintorp (D.B., 11, 243 [1086]).

Grymthorp (P.Q.W., 214 [1279–81]).

Grynthorp (V.E., 58 [1535]).

Grimthorpe probably derives its name from the O.N. personal name *Grima*, the feminine form of the *Grimr* which appears in Grimston and Grimsthorpe. The meaning is accordingly "the village or hamlet (O.N. *thorp*) of Grima."

GRINDLETON.

Grenedelington, Grynlington, Grunlington (K.I., 17, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Grenlington (C.C.R., i., 357 [1251]).

Grinlington (C.I.P.M., i., 17 [1258]).

Grindleton (C.B. map [1789]).

Gretlintone (D.B., 198 [1086]).

The form *Gretlingtone* of Domesday Book is without support, and is probably a mistake for *Gredlingtone* or *Grendlingtone*. Grindelton may possibly derive its name from O.E. *Grendelingtun* or *Grendelingatun* = the enclosure of Grendel, or of the family of Grendel. This is the name of the famous adversary of Beowulf in the epic which bears his name, and we meet with it again in Grindleford (Derbyshire), and in the *Grindeles pytt* and *Grendles mere* (Wilts.) of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 59, 353).

Mr. C. J. Battersby, in an interesting note on this name, suggests that it may be derived from O.E. *Grenedælingatun* = the enclosure of the dwellers in the green dale, and he instances as similar formations the O.N. *Grænlendingar* = men of Greenland, and *Vestfirthingar* = men of the west fiords.

GUISELEY.

Gislicleh (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Gisele (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Giselay, Gyselay, Giseley, Gysley (K.I., 36, 37, 209, 287, 347, 407 [1285–1316]).

The earliest of the forms of Guiseley given above is the *Gislicleh* of Birch's *Cartularium*, which looks as though the first element in Guiseley was the personal name Gislric. There is no such name recorded by Searle, but he gives several personal names compounded with Gisl, *e.g.*, Gislbeald, Gislbeorht, Gislhelm, while Gisalric or Gislaric appears not infrequently as a personal name in old German records (see Förstemann). If Gislric is the first element in the name, the full form would be *Gislricesleah* = the lea or meadow of Gislric.

HADDLESEY (CHAPEL or EAST).

Hathelsay, Est Hathelsay (K.I., 50, 344 [1285–1316]).

Hathelsay (C.B.S., i., 81 [1353]).

Hadlesey (V.E., 13 [1535]).

HADDLESEY (WEST).

Hathelsay, West Hathelsay (K.I., 213, 285 [1285–1316]).

Westhathelesay (C.C.R., iii., 43 [1304]).

Hathelsay, the earlier form of Haddlesey, may be connected with the M.E. word *hathel* = a noble, a man of valour, which is commonly met with in the M.E. romance, *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, and occurs in the York Mystery Plays. The editors of the N.E.D. regard *hathel* as a variant of *athel* (from O.E. *æthel* = noble). The meaning of Haddlesey may, therefore, be "the noble's water-meadow," or "the water-meadow of a man called Hathel." But it is also possible that the *Hathel* in *Hathelsay* goes back to the O.E. personal name Hathulf, a contracted form of an original *Hathuwulf* or *Heathuwulf*, which is commonly met with in O.E. records; *cf.* Halsbach in Bavaria, which appears as *Hadolvespach* in eighth century records.

HALDENBY.

Haldaneby (C.C.R., i., 461 [1257]).

Haldanby (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Haldenby is one of the several names in the West Riding which recall the *Beowulf* epic. Healfdene—literally, the half-Danes—is the name given in *Beowulf* to the Hocingas and Secgan clans who joined in the fight against the Frisian king Finn (see *Beowulf*, and the fragmentary *Fight at Finnsburg*). Healfdene (in the singular) is also the name of the father of the Danish King Hrothgar, of *Beowulf* fame, and it appears, either as Halfdene or Haldan, as that of the Danish leader who warred against King Alfred (see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (anno 871).

HALIFAX.

Adam de Halifax (R.A.G., 192 [1268]).

Halifax (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Hallifax (Placitorum Abbreviatis, 324 [1316]).

Halifax (P.T. [1379]).

Speculation has been rife as to the meaning of the name Halifax, but neither Camden's story of the 'holy face' of John the Baptist, nor the association of the name with the Oxford and Exeter *Carfax* is worthy of serious consideration. The termination 'fax' in 'carfax' from the Latin *quadrifurcus* (= four-forked) through

the O.F. *carrefors* or *carrefour* is never met with except in the word 'Carfax'; moreover, had it been used in the name Halifax, we should expect, among the early spellings of the name, some such form as *Halifours*, *Halifouks*, or *Halifurs*. The word was in use in Yorkshire, and in the "Pontefract Chartulary" (i., 288) we read of a *Quarefurs*, *i.e.*, Carfax, at Darrington.

The termination in Halifax is in all probability identical with the Teutonic root 'fak,' which appears as *fæc* in O.E., *fak* or *fek* in Old Frisian, *vak* in Dutch, *fack* in Swedish, *fah* in Old High German, and *fach* in Mod. High German. The root-idea in all these words is that of a division, but whereas the O.E. *fæc* was used only of a division of time, most of the continental nations used the word for a division of space; hence the Dutch and Frisian sense,—an empty place or space. A highly specialised use of the word in Old High German was 'an enclosed space of water for catching fish, a fish-weir.' Inasmuch as the O.E. *fæc* was only used of a division of time, the probability is that Halifax is a Scandinavian or Low German place-name. In support of this etymology, it may be pointed out that the Old German word *fah* occurs, both alone and in combination with other elements, in several German place-names. There is a village called Fach near Erlangen, while in Pertz' *Monumenta Germanica* we come upon the place-names *Fache*, *Vache*, and *Zwisgenfaccho;* in the *Monumenta Boica* we find *Vacheim*, *Fahstat*, and *Fahhedorf*. Dr. Förstemann associates all of these names with the word *fah* in one or other of its senses. The first element may be O.E. *hálig* = holy, but it is more probable that it is the O.N. adjective *hallr* = sloping, or the O.N. personal name Halli, which is found in the Norwegian place-names Haltorp and Halstad. This gives us, as the meaning of Halifax, "the sloping divisions of land," or "Halli's divisions of land, Halli's shares." The Teutonic word *fak* seems to have been neuter in all languages, so that its plural would not end in *s* originally. But it would, like other neuter words, take the *s* plural in Middle English, and the hypothetical early M.E. form *Hallafaces* or *Hallifaces* would thence pass regularly into Halifax.

HALLAM.

Hallun (D.B., 122, 214 [1086]).

Adam de Hallum (Y.L.S., 65 [1297]).

Hallom (V.E., 197 [1535]).

The name Hallam goes back, through the form *Hallom*, to O.E. *Hallum*, the dat. plur. of O.E. *hall*, *heall* = a hall, royal residence. The meaning of Hallum is accordingly "at the halls or royal residences" (O.E. *æt thém hallum*). Mr. C. J. Battersby draws my attention to the statement in D.B. that Earl Wallef (Waltheof) possessed a hall (*aula*) at Hallam, but he doubts the existence of more than one hall, and would derive 'Hallam' from O.E. *æt thém*

halum = at the corners. To me, the short vowel in Hallam, and the fact that the early spellings are usually with the double *l*, are evidences that the word is from O.E. *hall*, a hall, and not from O.E. *halh*, a corner; *cf.* the place-name *Hallum* recorded in a Frisian document of the year 889 (see Förstemann).

HALTON (par. Leeds).

Halghton, Alghton (C.C.R., ii., 234, 235 [1280]).
Halghton, Halton (K.I., 210, 348 [1285–1316]).
Halletune, Halletun (D.B., 98, 210 [1086]).

HALTON (EAST).

Haltone, Altone (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).
Halton (K.I., 14, 191, 192 [1285–1316]).
Esthalton (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

HALTON (WEST).

Halghton, West Halton (K.I., 17, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).
Haltone, Altone (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

The forms *Halghton*, *Alghton*, given above, show that Halton has no connection with O.E. *heall*, *hall* = a hall. Charters 437 and 694 of Kemble's *Codex* indicate that Holton (Bucks.), and Holton (Somerset), go back to O.E. *Healhtun*, and it is probable that the West-Riding Haltons are of the same origin. The meaning is "an enclosure of land in a corner" (O.E. *healh*, *halh*), or "an enclosure of land with a sharp corner in it."

HAMBLETON.

Hameltun (D.B., 100, 212 [1086]).
Hamelton (K.I., 344 [1285–1316]).
Hamelton (C.B.S., i., 4, 6, 13 [1321]).
Hamylton (P.T. [1379]).
Hambleton (Y.F., i., 126 [1546]).

Hambleton, Hambledon, Hambleden, and Hamilton are common English place-names, and in all of them the first element is probably the same. The medial *b* is a so-called glide-sound, introduced in M.E. times between the *m* and the *l*. Hambledon (Hants.) appears as *Hamelendun* or *Hamelandunæ* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 361, 786, 1192), in which Hamelan or Hamelen may be the genitive case of a personal name Hamela, a diminutive of the common O.E. personal name Hama. Hamelin, which suggests Hamelinus, a latinised form of Hamela, is the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. Hambleton may accordingly be "Hamela's enclosure."

HAMMERTON (par. Slaidburn).

Hamereton (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Hamertun, Amertun (K.I., 17, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Hamerton (C.P.R., i., 102 [1225]).

HAMMERTON (GREEN).

Grene Hamerton (K.I., 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Grenehamerton (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Hanbretone, Ambretone (D.B., 177, 220 [1086]).

HAMMERTON (KIRK).

Kyrke Hamerton (K.I., 46, 206 [1285–1316]).

Hanbretone, Ambretone (D.B., 177, 220 [1086]).

It is probable that all the Yorkshire Hammertons are of the same origin, in spite of certain differences in the D.B. spellings of the names. The letter *n* is often substituted for *m*, and *m* for *n*, by the D.B. scribes, and the *b* in the form Hambreton, Ambreton, is a glide-sound similar to that in Hambleton (*q.v.*). The first element may be O.E. *hamor* = a hammer, which would suggest that the name Hammerton implies an enclosed place where metal instruments were forged. But it is more probable that the first element is O.N. *hamarr*, which means (1) a hammer, (2) a hammer-shaped rock, a crag standing out like an anvil. The word is very commonly used in this latter sense in Icelandic place-names, and also in the O.N. compounds *hamardalr* = a craggy ravine, *hamarklif* = a rocky cliff.

HAMPOLE.

Honepol (D.B., 121, 214 [1086]).

Hanepol (C.C.R., ii., 388 [1291]).

Hampole (Richard Rolle of Hampole's Works, ed. Horstman, i., 61 [circ. 1340]).

The O.E. form of Hampole was probably *Hananpol, i.e.*, the pool (O.E. *pól*) of a man called Hana. Hana, which means literally 'a cock,' appears as the name of a moneyer on a coin of the time of King Edmund (see Searle's *Onomasticon* and Grueber's *Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii.). The name appears again in Hanworth (Wilts.), and Hanwell (Wilts.), which are spelt *Hananwurth* and *Hananwel* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 331). The D.B. spelling *Honepol* shows the nasalisation of *a* to *o* before *n*, while the modern form Hampole shows how, after the dropping of the medial *e*, *n* was changed to the labial nasal *m* before the labial *p*.

HANDSWORTH.

Hannesworth (Y.F., i., 193 [1556]).

Handesuurde, Handesuuord (D.B., 68, 214 [1086]).

Handesworth (T.E., 305 [1291]).

Handesworth (K.I., 3, 9, 230, 358 [1285–1316]).

Although the D.B. spelling of this name is *Handesworde*, it is possible that the original form was *Haneswurth*, and in favour of this view it should be noticed that Handsworth (Staffs.) appears in D.B. as *Honesworde*, which is another form of O.E. *Haneswurth*, with nasalisation of *a* to *o*. The *d* in this case is a glide-sound; *cf.* 'thunder' from O.E. *thunor*. If we accept *Haneswurth* as the O.E. form of the name, we may associate the first element with one of the O.E. personal names compounded with Han, *e.g.*, Hangrim, Hanweard, and interpret Handsworth as "the dwelling-place of Han, Hangrim, or Hanweard."

HANLITH.

Hagenlyth (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

Haghenlith, Hahmlith, Hevenlyth (K.I., 15, 191, 356 [1285–1316]).

Rob. de Haunlith (Y.I., i., 85 [1260]).

Hanleth (Y.F., i., 110 [1544]).

Hangelif (D.B., 30, 224 [1086]).

It is impossible to reconcile all the early spellings of Hanlith, but the probability is that *Hagenlith* is the true M.E. form, and that the place owes its name to the personal name Hagen or Hagena. This is a famous name in Teutonic legend, and takes us back to the heroic Hagen of the Nibelungen and Waltharius sagas (see Introduction, p. xxvii.). The termination *-lith* is O.E. *hlith* = the slope of a hill, and the meaning of Hanlith is accordingly "the hill-slope of Hagena." The phonological development of the name would be somewhat as follows: *Hagenanhlith* > *Hagenlith* > *Haunlith* > *Hanlith*.

HARDEN (par. Bingley).

Hardene (Rievaulx Chartulary, 387 [1234]).

Harden (Testamenta Ebor., vi., 222 [1543]).

HARDEN (par. Clapham).

Mr. Skaife indentifies Harden near Bingley with the *Hateltun* and *Heldeton* of D.B., and Harden in the parish of Clapham with the D.B. *Heldetun*. This is incorrect in the case of the Harden near Bingley; probably, also in the case of the Harden near Clapham. In a deed of the year 1166 we read of "the bounds between *Hadelton*

and *Hardene*," also of " the vill of *Hagelton* and the wood of *Hardene*," and of a stream called Merebroc which divides *Hagelton* from *Hareden* (see Yorkshire Deeds, pp. 78–80). It is clear, therefore, that Harden is a different place from D.B. *Hatelton*. It is probable that both the Hardens go back to the O.E. phrase *in thére háran dene* = in the grey valley—*cf.* Harewood—and that the *Hateltun* of D.B. goes back to an original *Hathulfestun* or *Hathuwulfestun* = the enclosure of Hathulf or Hathuwulf.

HARDWICK.

Harduic, Arduwic (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Herdewyk (P.Q.W., 214 [1279–81]).

Hardwyke, Hardwike (V.E., 63, 321 [1535]).

Hardwick in Northamptonshire and Hardwick in Warwick appear as *Heordewic* in the charters of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 953, 916, 939), and it is possible that this is also the O.E. form of the Yorkshire Hardwick. The meaning would be " the shepherd's (or shepherds') dwelling-place," the constituent elements being *heorde*, the Northumbrian form of West Saxon *hierde* = a shepherd, herdsman, and O.E. *wíc* = a dwelling-place. On the place of the *herdwick* in the feudal manor, see Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 224. But the D.B. forms of the name, if correct, suggest that the original form may have been *Hardulfeswic* or *Heardwulfeswic*, *i.e.*, the dwelling-place of Heardwulf.

HAREWOOD.

Harawuda (Rushworth Gloss of St. John's Gospel, S.S., xlviii., p. 173 [10th cent.]).

Hareuuode (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Harewode (C.C.R., iii., 176 [1311]).

Harwod, Harwode (K.I., 33, 41, 42, 209 [1285–1316]).

The interesting mention of Harewood as *Harawuda* at the end of the Rushworth Gloss of St. John's Gospel gives us the O.E. form of this name, and makes it certain that Harewood has nothing to do with O.E. *here* = an army, as local antiquaries have asserted. It is possible that Harewood derives its name from O.E. *hara* = a hare, but it is much more probable that the first element in the name is the O.E. adjective *hár* = hoary, grey, also old. In Kemble's *Codex* (iii., 279), we meet with the phrase *on thone háran hæsel* = to the grey hazel-tree, and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (anno 1066) we read *æt thére háran apuldre* = at the apple-tree grey (with lichen), so that the association of the adjective *hár* with the colour of trees is clear. The full form of Harewood in O.E. would be *on thém háran wuda* = in the grey (or old) wood. The colour-adjective may refer to the grey trunks of the trees or to the grey lichen on the branches, or *hár* may be used in its secondary sense of ' old.'

HARTHILL.

Hertehille (Y.I., i., 184 [1278]).

Herthill (K.I., 359 [1285–1316]).

Hertil (D.B., 127 [1086]).

This name is formed of O.E. *heort, heorot* = the hart, stag, and O.E. *hyll* = a hill; hence "the hart's hill"; *cf.* the place-names Hartley and Hartwell, which are spelt *Heortleah* and *Heortwel* in Kemble's charters. The large number of names compounded with O.E. *heort* shows that herds of wild deer were common in most parts of the country in Old English times.

HARTLINGTON.

Herttelington, Hertelington, Hertlington (Y.I., ii., 4, 149, 150 [1275–95]).

Hertlington, Hottlington (K.I., 13, 191, 196, 357 [1285–1316]).

Hartlyngton (Y.F., i., 183 [1555]).

Herlintun, Herlintone (D.B., 195 [1086]).

The first element in this name—Hartling—is apparently the patronymic form of the Hartle, which is found in Hartlepool, Hartleford, and Hartlebury. The last two names occur in the charters of Kemble's *Codex* under the forms *Heortlanbyrig, Heortlabyrig*, and *Heortlaford* (Nos. 627, 653, 1366, 653), *i.e.*, the fortress and the ford of a man called Heortla. The name Hartlington probably goes back therefore to *Heortlingtun* or *Heortlingatun* = the enclosure of Heortla, or of the sons of Heortla. Heortla is probably a diminutive form of Heort, or of some name compounded with Heort-; *cf.* the O.H.G. name *Hirzula*, the diminutive of *Hiruz*, which is the O.H.G. form of O.E. *heort, heorot* = a hart.

HARTSHEAD.

Adam de Herteshevede (Y.I., i., 60 [1258]).

Hertheved (K.I., 362 [1285–1316]).

Hortesheve, Horteseve (D.B., 116, 218 [1086]).

The O.E. form of this name would be *Heortesheafod*, formed out of *heortes*, the gen. sing. of O.E. *heort* = a hart, stag, and O.E. *héafod* = a head, headland. The meaning of Hartshead is therefore "the hart's headland," or, more probably, "the headland of a man called Heort."

HASLEWOOD.

Heseleuuode, Eseleuuode (D.B., 129, 204, 211 [1086]).

Gilb. de Heselwode (Y.I., i., 110 [1269]).

Heselwode, Heselwod, Heselwood (K.I., 49, 214, 284 [1285–1316]).

The meaning of the name is obvious—"the wood of hazel-trees." The O.E. form would be *Hæselwudu*.

HATFIELD.

Hæthfelth (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii., 20 [731]).

Hedfeld (D.B., 127, 128 [1086]).

Haitfeld, Haytefeld (K.I., 3, 359 [1285–1316]).

Hatfeld (R. of C., i., 135 [circ. 1400]).

Hatfield goes back to O.E. *Hæthfeld*, of which Bede's *Hæthfelth* is a variant. The component parts are O.E. *héth* = a heath, piece of waste land, and O.E. *feld* = a field. The O.E. *é*, shortened to *æ* before two consonants became M.E. *a*, while the *th* changed to *t* before the following *f*; *cf.* Hatfield (Herts.), which is also spelt *Héthfeld* in O.E. documents; but in Heathfield (Wilts.)—O.E. *Hæthfeld*—the O.E. *é* did not undergo shortening, nor did the *th* change to *t*.

HAVERCROFT.

Havercroft (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Havercroft (C.C.R., iii., 149 [1310]).

The first element in this name is either O.N. *hafr*, M.E. *haver* = oats, or O.N. *hafr*, O.E. *hæfer* = he-goat, buck. The termination is O.E. *croft* = a field. The meaning is accordingly either "a field where oats are grown," or "a field where goats are kept."

HAWKSWICK.

Haukeswyk, Hawkeswyk (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9, 16, 28 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Haukeswyk (K.I., 14, 357 [1285–1316]).

Hochesuuic (D.B., 197 [1086]).

The O.E. form of Hawkswick may have been *Hafoceswic* (*cf.* Hawksham, Hawkslaw, Hawkspit, which appear as *Heafoceshamme*, *Hafoceshléw*, and *Hafocespyt* in Kemble's *Codex*). *Hafoc* is the O.E. form of Mod. E. *hawk*, but its combination with such terminations as *-wick* and *-worth* (see next name), which always

indicate human occupation, makes it almost certain that Hawkswick is not "the hawk's dwelling-place," but "the dwelling-place of a man called Hafoc, or Hawk." It is also possible that the first element is *Haukr*, the O.N. equivalent of O.E. *Hafoc*, and commonly met with as a personal name in O.N. records.

HAWKSWORTH.

Hauocesord, Hauocesorde, Henochesuurde (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Hawkesword, Hawkesworth (K.I., 37, 209, 347 [1285–1316]).

Walt. de Haukesworth (C.C., 73 [1310]).

See Hawkswick. The O.E. form would be *Hafoceswurth*, the meaning of which is "the enclosure or homestead of a man called Hafoc, or Hawk."

HAWORTH.

Hageneuuorde (D.B., 174 [1086]).

Haghenworth (P.Q.W., 225 [temp. Ed. I.]).

Jordan de Haghenwrde (Y.D., 81 [1230]).

Jordan de Hawrthe (P.C., 383 [1246]).

Haworth, Hawort (K.I., 227, 361 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name is identical with that in Hanlith (*q.v.*). The O.E. form would be *Hagenanwurth*, *i.e.*, the enclosure or homestead of Hagena or Hagen. For the Hagen saga see under Hanlith, and *cf.* Introduction, p. xxvii. Whereas in *Hanlith* the *n* of *Hagen* has been preserved, and *Hagen* has passed into *Haun* (*Haunlith*), in Haworth the *n* has dropped, and *Hage* has become *Haw*.

HEADINGLEY.

Hedingeleia, Hedingelei (D.B., 99, 210 [1086]).

Heddinglay, Heddigleia, Haddingleia (C.B.K., 2, 3, *et passim* [1153 *et post*]).

Hedingele and Westhedingele (C.C.R., i., 225 [1236]).

Heddingley, Heddyngley, Hedyngley (K.I., 33, 207, 286 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Headingley was probably *Heddingaleah* = the lea of the sons of Hedda. Hedda, of which Headda is another form, was a familiar O.E. personal name, and was frequently borne by bishops and abbots. *Hedding* is the patronymic of Hedda, and *Heddinga* the gen. plur. of Hedding.

HEALAUGH.

Hailaga, Hailage, Helage (D.B., 131, 156, 206, 219 [1086]).

Helaua (P.R., xv., 45 [1170]).

Helagh, Helage (K.I., 25, 222, 291, 342 [1285–1316]).

Helage, Helagh, Helaye (C.C.R., iii., 142, 153, 166 [1300–1325]).

Helaugh (Y.F., i., 94 [1541]).

Historians usually associate Healaugh with the abbess Heiu, who, according to Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk. iv., chap. 23), was the first woman in Northumbria to become a nun, and spent the last years of her life at Tadcaster, near to which Healaugh is situated. In the absence of any O.E. spelling of the name, it is impossible to say whether the first element in Healaugh is the personal name Heiu or the O.E. adjective *héah, héh* = high. The termination is also a little uncertain, the forms given above varying between O.E. *léah* = a lea and O.E. *hlǽw, hláw* = a hill.

HEATHFIELD (near Pateley Bridge).

Hilgrefeld, Higrefelt (D.B., 96, 222 [1086]).

Heathfield (Jefferys' Top. Survey [1772]).

Mr. Skaife identifies the *Hilgrefeld* or *Higrefelt* of D.B. with the hamlet of Heathfield, near Pateley Bridge. If this is right, we must regard Heathfield as a popular corruption of the D.B. spellings. Accepting the form *Higrefelt*, we may connect it with the rare O.E. word *higre, higera*, which is cognate with the German *Häher*, and means either a magpie or a woodpecker. If, on the other hand, we accept the form *Hilgrefeld* as correct, it is natural to connect it with the personal name Hildegar—O.E. *Hildegaresfeld* = the field of Hildegar.

HEATON (EARL'S).

Heton (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Heton (K.I., 362 [1285–1316]).

Etone, Ettone (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

The name Heaton is formed of O.E. *héah, héh*, M.E. *heigh, hey, hee*, Mod. E. *high* + O.E. *tún*, an enclosure. The meaning is accordingly "the enclosure on high ground."

HEBDEN.

Hebedene (D.B., 78 [1086]).

Hebbeden (C.C.R., iii., 292 [1316]).

Hebbeden, Hebden, Helbedon (K.I., 20, 197, 357 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of this name was probably *Hebbandenu*, which means "the valley of a man called Hebba." The name Hebba is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, but Bardsley in his *Dictionary of English Surnames* records it as early as 1273, and it appears as a Yorkshire name in the Poll Tax Returns of 1379.

HECK.

Hecke (C.I.P.M., i., 69 [1280]).

Hek (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The place-name Heck is the north-country form of the word *hatch*, used in the sense of a "wicket-gate." The form *hatch* appears in the local names Hatch, Hatchham, Hatchford, and Coneyhatch, and goes back to O.E. *hæc*. The form *heck*, M.E. *hek*, is from O.E. *hec*, a Mercian form of West Saxon *hæc*.

HECKMONDWIKE.

Hecmundeswyk (Y.I., i., 264 [1261]).

John de Hekmundewike (Y.I., ii., 43 [1286]).

Hekmondewyk, Hekmundwyke, Hecmundwik (K.I., 30, 224, 279, 361 [1285–1316]).

The personal name Hecmund is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, yet the probability is that Heckmondwike owes its name to a person so called. The name would be compounded out of M.E. *heck*, O.E. *hec*, *hæc* = a wicket-gate (see Heck), and O.E. *mund* = a guardian, protector, which appears as the second theme in a large number of O.E. personal names, *e.g.*, Ecgmund, Eadmund, Heahmund. Heckmondwike accordingly means "Hecmund's dwelling-place," or "the wicket-keeper's dwelling-place."

HEINDLEY (COLD).

Hindeleia, Hindelei, Indelie (D.B., 109, 217 [1086]).

Hyndelay (P.T. [1379]).

Indelay (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

HEINDLEY (SOUTH).

Hindeleia, Indelie (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Heindley probably goes back to O.E. *Hindeleah*, where the first element is O.E. *hind*, *hinde* = the hind, the female stag, and the meaning of the whole is " the hind's meadow " ; *cf.* Hindlip (Worcs.), which appears as *Hindehlyp* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 402), and means " the hind's leap." Another possible derivation is from O.E. *hindan* = behind, which would give the meaning, " the meadow which lies behind."

HELLABY.

Helgebi, Elgebi (D.B., 117, 212, 213 [1086]).

Helghby (K.I., 290 [1285–1316]).

Hellyby (Y.F., i., 298 [1564]).

This is a Scandinavian name, and the Domesday spelling *Helgebi* takes us directly back to the O.N. personal names Helgi (masc.) and Helga (fem.). O.N. *helga* is also the weak form of the O.N. adjective *helgr* = holy, but it is more probable that Hellaby means " the farm of Helga or Helgi " than " the holy farm."

HELLIFIELD.

Hœlgefeld, Helgefeld, Helgefelt, Helgeflet (D.B., 30, 135, 196, 224 [1086]).

Helghfelde (M.F., ii., pt. i., 16 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Helghfelde, Helgfeld, Helefeud (K.I., 15, 191, 202, 356 [1285–1316]).

Helyfeld (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

For the derivation of this name, see Hellaby. The meaning is " the field of Helga or Helgi " ; or, less probably, " the holy field."

HEMSWORTH.

Himeleswurth, Hymelwrth (A.G.R., 92, 102 [1244]).

Himelesworth (C.C.R., ii., 180 [1272]).

Himmelsworth (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Hymmesworth (P.T. [1379]).

Hemsworth (Y.F., i., 185 [1555]).

Hamelesuurde, Hilmeuuord (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

It is probable that Hemsworth takes its name from the O.E. personal name Hemele, which is found in a number of O.E. charters, and which looks like a diminutive of the personal name Hama ; *cf.* the O.H.G. personal name Hamo and its diminutive Hemilo. The meaning of Hemsworth is accordingly " the dwelling-place of Hemele." It is curious that whereas the modern spelling is Hemsworth, the common M.E. form was *Himeleswurth*, with *i*

instead of *e*. The passage of *e* into *i* before *m* is unusual in M.E., though the existence of such a M.E. form as *brimbel* for the ordinary *brembel* shows that it was not unknown (see Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 109).

HENSALL.

Hethensale (Y.I., i., 208 [1280]).

Hethensalle (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

John de Hethensal (C.B.S., i., 329 [1315]).

Hensall (V.E., 13 [1535]).

Edeshale (D.B., 12, 193, 216 [1086]).

The Domesday spelling of Hensall is evidently corrupt, and *Hethensale* may be regarded as the true M.E. form. This in its turn goes back to O.E. *Hætheneshalh* = the heathen's corner. The O.E. word *hǽthen* is the term commonly applied by the Anglo-Saxon annalists to the Danes, and Hensall seems to point back to a time when the Danish invaders were rowing up the Yorkshire rivers, and when one of their number acquired for himself a corner (*halh*) of land on the right bank of the Aire. Thenceforward the plot of ground was called by the neighbouring Angles *hǽthenes halh*, *i.e.*, the heathen's corner.

HEPTONSTALL.

Nalke de Heptonstall (W.C.R., i., 94 [1274]).

John de Heptonstall (W.C.R., i., 255 [1296]).

Heptonstall (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

There are several places in the north of England in which the first syllable is *Hep-*, *e.g.*, Hepton, Hepworth, Hepburn, Hepthorne. The origin of this *Hep-* is probably O.E. *héope*, M.E. *hepe*, Mod. E. *hip* = the wild-rose, the briar; *cf.* O.E. *héopbremel* = dog-rose, also bramble. Hepton accordingly means "the enclosure by the wild rose-bush," and Heptonstall "the cattle-stall built upon the enclosure by the wild rose-bush." In Kemble's *Codex* (No. 568) there appears the name *Heopebricg* (= Hipbridge, Lincs.), which would be "the bridge by the wild rose-bush."

HEPWORTH.

Heppeword (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Adam de Heppewrth (W.C.R., i., 82 [1274]).

Hepworth (Y.F., i., 100 [1542]).

See Heptonstall. The O.E. form of Hepworth was probably *Heopewurth*, and the meaning is "the enclosure or farm-stead by the wild rose-bush."

HESSAY.

Edward de Heselseia (P.R., xiii., 41 [1168]).

Hessay, Hessey (K.I., 29, 223, 342 [1285–1316]).

Hesdesai, Esdesai (D.B., 162, 176, 219 [1086]).

The D.B. spelling of this name shows the substitution of *d* for *l*, and there can be little doubt that *Heselseia* is the true early M.E. spelling. *Heselseia* may be compared with the place-name *Hessleskew* in the East Riding, which is undoubtedly the O.N. *Hesliskogr*, *i.e.*, the hazel wood, or hazel shaw. But in attempting to associate Hessay with the hazel (O.E. *hæsel*, O.N. *hesli*), a formidable difficulty arises through the presence of the *s* after the *l*. I am strongly of the opinion that the occurrence of this genitive case ending in English place-names almost always indicates possession and a personal name. It is therefore probable that Hessay means "the water-meadow of a man called Hæsel." There is no such name recorded in O.E. documents, but the name Heslington in the East Riding shows the patronymic form, and indicates that the name Hesel was once found in Yorkshire. See also Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, 'Haslingfield.'

HETTON.

Hetune (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Heton (C.C.R., ii., 255 [1281]).

Heton (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Heton (K.I., 15, 189, 190, 356 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that Hetton goes back to O.E. *Hæthtun* = the enclosure by the heath (*cf.* Hatfield), though it is also possible that Hetton is another form of Heaton (*q.v.*).

HEWICK (BRIDGE).

Heawic (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Hauuic, Hauuinc (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Hewich (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Heywyk, Hewyk, Hewick, Hewyk-atte-brige, Hewyk ad pontem (K.I., 212, 331, 388, 407, 412 [1285–1316]).

HEWICK (COPT).

Heywyk, Hewiek (K.I., 212, 435 [1285–1316]).

Hewyk and Coppedhewyk (P.T. [1379]).

Hadewic, Hadeuuic (D.B., 42, 223 [1086]).

The spelling *Heawic* in Birch's *Cartularium* makes it fairly certain that Hewick derives its name from O.E. *héah, héh* = high, and O.E. *wíc* = a dwelling-place, village. The meaning is accordingly "the dwelling-place on high ground." In the case of Copt Hewick, the D.B. form *Hadewic* would lead us to suppose that it is from O.E. *Haddanwic* = the village of Hadda; but in the absence of other forms with medial *d*, the D.B. spelling carries little weight, and the probability is that the two Hewicks are identical in origin. The word Copt, which we meet with again in Copt Hall (Essex), and Copt Oak (Leics.), is from O.E. *copped* = polled, lopped, pollarded, so that Copt Hewick is "the village on high ground by the pollard-trees"; *cf. to than coppedan thorne* = to the pollard thorn (B.C.S., 740).

HICKLETON.

Hikelton, Hikylton, Hykylton (K.I., 4, 7, 231, 282 [1285–1316]).

Hykelton (C.C.R., iii., 122 [1308]).

Hekilton (P.T. [1379]).

Chicheltone, Icheltone (D.B., 180, 213 [1086]).

Here, as in many other instances, the Domesday Book forms are misleading, and there can be no doubt that *Hikelton* is the true M.E. spelling. With it we may compare the following place-names in the Index to Kemble's *Codex: Hicklesham* (Hicklesham, Wilts.), *Hiceleswyrth* (Hicklesworth, Wilts.), *Hikeling* (Hickling, Norfolk). There can be no doubt that underlying all these names is an O.E. personal name Hicel, though it is not found in any O.E. document. The O.E. form of Hickleton may have been *Hicelestun* or *Hicelingatun, i.e.*, "the enclosure of Hicel," or "the enclosure of the family of Hicel"; *cf.* the O.H.G. personal names Hicchilo, Hicchila.

HILLAM.

Hillum (Blandinger, i., 62 [early 11th cent.).

Hillum (C.B.S., i., 7, 13, 15 [1154]).

Hillum (K.I., 344, 438 [1285–1316]).

Hillam (C.B. map [1789]).

Hillam goes back, through M.E. *Hillum*, to O.E. *Hyllum, Hillum*, the dat. plur. of O.E. *hyll, hill* = a hill. The full form of Hillam in O.E. would be *on thém hyllum* = on the hills; *cf.* Hallam.

HIPPERHOLME.

Huperun (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Hen. de Hyperum (Y.I., i., 44 [1255]).

Hyperum (W.C.R., i., 88 [1274]).

Hyprum (P.T. [1379]).

Hipperholme (Y.F., i., 334 [1566]).

It is highly probable that Hipperholme derives its name from the dialect word 'hipper' = an osier, which is recorded by Wright in his *Dialect Dictionary* for Ireland, Cornwall, and Lancashire. In Lancashire, a field in which hipper or osier willows are grown is called a 'hipperholm.' (See Wright, 'hipper.') In the forms *Hiperum*, *Hyprum*, etc., the final *-um* is the inflection of the dative plural, and the meaning is "among the osiers"; but confusion has arisen between this inflection and the O.N. *holmi* = low-lying ground by a stream.

HEXTHORPE.

Hestorp, Estorp (D.B., 66, 205, 213 [1086]).

Hextorpe (Y.I., i., 198, 199 [1279]).

Hexthorp (P.T. [1379]).

It is probable that the first element is a Scandinavian personal name. It may well be that Hexthorpe goes back to O.N. *Heggsthorp* = the village of a man called Heggr. The personal name Heggr is found in the Icelandic *Landnamabok* and in the *Egilssaga*, and it appears also in the Norwegian place-name Hegstad (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

HOLDEN.

Holedene (D.B., 195 [1086]).

Holden (Y.I., iii., 12 [1295]).

The O.E. form of Holden would be *Holedenu*, or, more fully, *on thére holan dene* = in the hollow valley. The constituent elements are O.E. *hol* = hollow, and O.E. *denu* = a valley. The name *Holanden* occurs in Kemble's *Codex*, together with *Holanbroc* (= Holbrook, Worcs.).

HOLDWORTH.

Haldeuurde, Aldeuuorde (D.B., 121, 214 [1086]).

Haldewrth (W.C.R., i., 113, 116 [1275]).

Holdworth (C.B. map [1789]).

Halda or *Healda* is an O.E. personal name which occurs in one of Kemble's charters (No. 46), and appears in the place-name *Healdan graf* (K.C.D., 1108). Holdworth probably goes back, therefore, to O.E. *Haldanwurth*, the meaning of which is the "enclosure or farmstead of Halda."

HOLME (par. Almondbury).

Holm (C.C.R., ii., 20 [1260]).

Holm (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Holne (D.B., 13, 27, 217 [1086]).

HOLME (par. Skipton).

Holme (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

Holme (C.B. map [1789]).

Holme is a common English place-name, and is derived from the O.N. *holmi*, which means (1) a small island in the sea, (2) a piece of flat low-lying ground by a river or stream, submerged or surrounded in time of flood (N.E.D.). In the island-names Flatholm, Steepholm, Bornholm, we see the first of these two meanings of O.N. *holmi*; in the inland Holmes, the second.

HONLEY.

Hanelei, Haneleia (D.B., 112, 217 [1086]).

Hanley (Dodsworth MS. [1350]).

John de Honeley (W.C.R., i., 90 [1274]).

Honlay (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Honley probably goes back through the Domesday form *Hanelei* to O.E. *Hananleah*, *Honanleah* = the lea or meadow of a man called Hana or Hona (see Hampole).

HOOK.

Houk (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Tho. de Houk (C.B.S., i., 8 [1324]).

Huk, Huck (C.C.R., iii., 253 [1314]).

Hook derives its name from O.E. *hóc* = a corner, angle, nook, point of land. The N.E.D. gives the following meanings for the Mod. E. word *hook*, which has developed out of O.E. *hóc:* (1) a bend in a river, (2) a projecting corner, point, or spit of land.

HOOTON (LEVET).

Hotone (D.B., 67, 214 [1086]).

Hoton Livet (Y.I., i., 200 [1279]).

Hoton Lyveth (K.I., 7, 11, 231, 282 [1285–1316]).

HOOTON (PAYNEL).

Hotun, Hotone (D.B., 67, 214 [1086]).

Hoton (Hist. Ch. York, iii., 76 [n.d.)].

Hoton Painel, Panell, Paynel, Paynell-Hoton (K.I., 1, 4, 7, 40, 231 [1285–1316]).

HOOTON (ROBERTS).

Hotun (D.B., 118, 213 [1086]).

Hoton, Hoton Robert (K.I., 2, 3, 9, 233 [1285–1316]).

Hoton Robard (P.T. [1379]).

The Yorkshire Hootons are probably derived from O.E. *hó, hóh* = a projecting ridge of land, a promontory, with the addition of O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The O.E. *hó* is preserved as a separate word in Plymouth Hoe. The meaning of Hooton is accordingly "an enclosure of land running to a point, or with a projecting ridge." Levet and Paynel are the names of families once owning land in the places which bear their name—see Kirkby's Inquest (*Index Nominum*,—and Hooton Roberts probably owes its name to a certain Robertus de Hoton who held land there in 1285.

HOPPERTON.

Hopretone, Homptone, Homtone (D.B., 27, 178, 187, 199 [1086]).

Nich. de Hoperton (C.C., 51 [1282]).

Hoperton (K.I., 46, 206, 350 [1285–1316]).

Professor Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* shows that the word 'hopper' is used in several senses—a seed-basket, a salt-crystal, a grasshopper, etc., but it is probable that the first element in Hopperton is from none of these, but from O.E. *hoppere* = a dancer, literally, one who hops and skips about. Accepting this derivation, the O.E. form of the name would be *Hopperatun* = the enclosure or field of the dancers.

HOPTON.

Hoptun, Hoptone (D.B., 112, 217 [1086]).

Thos. de Hopton (W.C.R., i., 85 [1274]).

The O.E. form of Hopton was in all probability *Hoptun*, with which we may compare Hopwood (Worcs.), which appears as

Hopwudu in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 262, 351). The first element in the name is O.E. *hop*, which appears in compounds like *mórhopu* (= stretches of moor, or marsh) in O.E. literature, and which has survived as *hope* in the northern and Scottish dialects of to-day. The meaning of *hope*, according to the N.E.D., is (1) a piece of enclosed land in the midst of fens and marshes, (2) a small enclosed valley; and the meaning of Hopton is therefore "the enclosure by the marshes," or "the enclosure in the valley."

HORBURY.

Horberie, Orberie (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Will. de Horberia (P.R., xxv., 111 [1176]).

Rad. de Horeberi (C.B.S., 315 [1211–1240]).

Horubury (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Horbury is the O.E. *horh*, *horu* = dirt, mud, which enters into the formation of the O.E. compounds *horpytt* (mud-pit), *horuséath* (mud-hole), *horwyll* (muddy stream). The meaning of Horbury is therefore "the fortified dwelling or manor-house (O.E. *burh*) in the mud"; *cf.* Horton.

HORNINGTON.

Horninctune, Hornintone, Hornitone (D.B., 132, 175, 206, 219 [1086]).

Will. de Hornington (Y.I., ii., 19 [1284]).

Hornyngton, Harnyngton (K.I., 24, 219, 289 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Hornington was probably *Horningatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Horn; *cf. Horningaden* (K.C.D., 1250), which is the modern Horningden (Sussex), and *Horningamære* (K.C.D., 556), the modern Horningmere (Hants.). The personal name Horn, which the romance of *King Horn* has made familiar, is probably Danish.

HORSFORTH.

Horseforde, Horseford, Hoseforde (D.B., 26, 199, 211 [1086]).

Horseford, Horsford (C.B.K., 1, 42, *et passim* [from 1234]).

Horseford, Horsford (K.I., 32, 207, 286 [1285–1316]).

It is impossible to say whether the O.E. form of Horsforth was *Horsaford*, the ford of the horses, or *Horsanford*, the ford of a man called Horsa; the difference between the two forms is well illustrated by the place-names Horsley (Surrey), and Hursley (Hants.). The former appears in Kemble's *Codex* as *Horsaleah*, the latter at *Horsanleah* (see K.C.D., Nos. 317, 180). Apart from the half-legendary Horsa, the brother of Hengest, the name is rare, and the probability is that Horsforth is "the horses' ford."

HORTON (par. Bradford).

Hortone (Y.D., 52 [1537]).

HORTON (par. Gisburn).

Hortune, Hortone (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Horton, Hoton (K.I., 17, 198, 355 [1285–1316]).

Horton (C.C., 166 [1349]).

HORTON-IN-RIBBLESDALE.

Horton (Y.L.S., 6 [1297]).

Horton is a common name in many parts of England, and the O.E. form of it—*Hortun*—occurs several times in the charters of Kemble's *Codex*. The constituent elements are O.E. *horh* (= mud), which drops its final *h* in composition, and O.E. *tún* (= an enclosure). The meaning of Horton is therefore "the muddy enclosure"; *cf.* Horbury.

HOUGHTON (GLASS).

Hoctun (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Hoghton (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Hoghton (C.C., 180 [1359]).

Houghton (Dodsworth MSS. [1449]).

Glass Houghton (C.B. map [1789]).

The name Houghton in Glass Houghton probably goes back to O.E. *Hoctun*, where the first element is O.E. *hóc* = a hook, corner, nook; see Hook. The meaning of Houghton is accordingly "the enclosure of land in a corner." The distinguishing prefix, Glass, seems to be of late origin, and is probably due to the fact that glass bottles are manufactured in the neighbourhood.

HOUGHTON (GREAT).

Halghton (P.T. [1379]).

Magna Halghton, Halton, Hailgton, Haulgton (K.I., 4, 7, 11, 231, 281 [1285–1316]).

Great Houghton (Y.F., i., 333 [1566]).

Haltune, Haltun (D.B., 68, 205, 215 [1086]).

HOUGHTON (LITTLE).

Parva Halghton (P.T. [1379]).

Parva Halghton, Halton Minor, Halton, Hailton, Holgton, 6, 9, 232, 283, 366 [1285–1316]).

Houghton Parva (C.B. map [1789]).

Holtone (D.B., 120, 213 [1086]).

Great and Little Houghton (pronounced Hawton) are of different origin from Glass Houghton. The original form was probably *Halhtun* (see Halton) = an enclosure of land with a bend or corner (*halh*) in it. In the spelling Houghton the older forms *Halhton, Halghton*, developed a *u* before the *l*, which appears in the form *Haulgton* (see above), and subsequently the *l* dropped. The change from *Haughton* to Houghton is merely graphic.

HOWGILL (par. Gisburn).

Holgill (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

Howgill (Y.F., i., 308 [1565]).

The form *Holgill* for *Howgill* in Kirkby's Inquest shows that the constituent elements in this name are O.N. *holr* = hollow and O.N. *gil* = a gill, ravine.

HOYLAND (par. Wath).

Holand, Hoiland (D.B., 119, 213, 217 [1086]).

Adam de Holanda (P.R., xxv., 110 [1176]).

Holand (K.I., 8, 366 [1285–1316]).

Steph. de Hoiland (P.R., xxv. 122 [1176]).

HOYLAND (HIGH).

Holand, Holant (D.B., 108, 216 [1086]).

Hegh Holand (P.T. [1379]).

High Hoyland (Y.F., i., 243 [1560]).

Heland (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

HOYLAND (SWAINE).

Holande, Holan (D.B., 110, 213, 216 [1086]).

Holandeswayn (Y.I., i., 103 [1266]).

Holanswayne (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Holand Swaynne (P.T. [1379]).

It is probable that Hoyland is developed out of the O.E. adjective *hol* = hollow, and O.E. *land* = land. The full form of Hoyland in O.E. would be *thæt hole land* = the hollow land, the low-lying land, or the land in a hollow. Professor Wright has indicated in his *English Dialect Grammar* (§ 93) that in South and South-West Yorkshire O.E. *o* in originally open syllables becomes *oi*, and, from the evidence of Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll of 1176, it would seem that this change had set in at a very early period in these districts.

The name Swaine in Hoyland Swaine is, of course, Scandinavian in origin, and a nobleman of this name was the owner of large tracts of land in South Yorkshire at the time when Domesday Book was compiled.

HUBBERHOLME.

Huburgheha' (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Hubberholme (C.B. map [1789]).

The first element in Hubberholme is the O.E. feminine name *Hunburh*, the genitive case of which is *Hunburge*. The medial *n* was lost at an early date, in the same way that it is lost in the name *Hubert*—found in Domesday Book—which comes from an earlier *Hunbeorht*, and is another form of *Humbert*, where the nasal has not been lost but has been changed to *m* before the following *b*. The name Hunburh appears again in Humberley (Oxon.), which is spelt *Hunburgleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 448, 1195). In Hubberholme the termination 'holme' (O.N. *holmi* = an island, a swampy piece of ground) takes the place of O.E. *hám* (a home) or O.E. *hamm, homm* (an enclosure); so that the original form of the name was *Hunburgeham*, or *Hunburgehamm* = the home—or enclosure—of Hunburh.

HUDDERSFIELD.

Oderesfeld, Odresfelt (D.B., 112, 217 [1086]).

Hodersfeld (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1280]).

Hodresfeld (Dodsworth MS. [ante 1285]).

Hoderfeld (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Hudresfeld (Dodsworth MS [ante 1297]).

Hudersfeld (Y.F., i., 19 [1504]).

Huddersfield seems to have as its first element either the O.E. personal name Huthhere, or the O.N. Höthr, Höther, Hother, which is found in Saxo's *Historia Danica*, and other early Scandinavian records. The O.E. word *húthhere* means a predatory army, and, as stated in the Introduction, it is possible that Huddersfield marks the site of a battle between a body of raiders and the local militia. But it is more probable that it means "the field of an Englishman called Huthhere, or of a Scandinavian called Hother." The fact that the earliest known spellings of the name are with medial *o* favours the form *Hothersfeld*. Huthhere appears as a moneyer's name on a coin in the British Museum (see Keary, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. i.). The development of Hother into Hudder is like the development of O.E. *róther* into *rudder*.

HUDDLESTON.

Hodeleston, Hudleston (C.C.R., ii., 200, 476 [1276–1299]).

Huddelston (P.Q.W., 196 [1279–81]).

Hudleston, Hudelston, Hodeleston, Hodelston (K.I., 213, 284, 346, 383, 401 [1285–1316]).

Huddleston apparently goes back to O.E. *Hundwulfestun* or *Hundulfestun*. The loss of the *n* before the *d* is similar to that in the name Hubert from an earlier Hunbeorht or Hundbeorht, and in the place-name Hubberholme (*q.v.*). The changes which the name has passed through are somewhat as follows: *Hundwulfestun* > *Hundulfestun* > *Hudulfestun* > *Hudeleston* > *Huddleston*, and the meaning of the name is "Hundwulf's enclosure." The name Hundwulf or Hundulf is found in O.E. charters and on a coin in the British Museum.

HUNSHELF.

Hunescelf (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Will Hunschelf (Y.D., 181 [1433]).

Hundeschelf (P.T. [1379]).

Hunclyf (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The spelling *Hundeschelf* of the Poll Tax is late and without support. The probability is that *Hunescelf* is the true M.E. form, constructed out of the O.E. personal name Hun or Huna with the addition of O.E. *scylf* = a peak, crag, tor, or O.E. *scilfe* = a shelf, ledge. The O.E. form Hunshelf was therefore either *Hunanscylf* (*scilfe*), or *Hunesscylf* (*scilfe*) = the crag or ledge of rock of Huna or Hun. The O.N. personal names Hunn and Huni, which are cognate with O.E. Hun and Huna, enter into the formation of a number of Norwegian place-names (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 136–137), while the O.E. form Huna appears in the *Hunanbricg* of Kemble's *Codex*. The name Hune is that of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book.

HUNSINGORE.

Hunsingure (Ribston Charters, No. 2 [circ. 1220]).

Hunsingore (Ribston Charters, No. 4 [circ. 1280]).

Hunsingore (K.I., 205 [1285–1316]).

Hulsingoure, Holsingoure, Ulsigouere (D.B., 72, 172, 173, 220 [1086]).

The Domesday spelling of Hunsingore with *l* for *n* is without support, and it seems probable that *Hunsingure* and *Hunsingore* are the more reliable M.E. forms. I am disposed to associate

Hunsingore with the O.E. personal name Hunsige, which appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, and in the charters of Kemble and Birch. The *-ing* of Hunsing may of course be the patronymic, but much may be said for the view that Hunsingore is a corrupted form of *Hunsigore*. The termination is somewhat uncertain. It may be O.E. *óra* = brink, limit, bank, as in *Windsor* (K.C.D., *Wendlesore*), or it may be O.E. *gára* = a point of land as in Gore (Middlesex), Gore Point, Gore Cliff, etc. I incline to the former, and regard *Hunsigesora* (= the border or bank of Hunsige) as the original form of Hunsingore.

HUNSLET.

Hunesflet, Hunslett (K.I., 30, 226, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

Hunseflet (C.B.K., 4, 5 [1336]).

Hunsflet (Y.D., 97 [n.d.]).

Hunslet (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

The early forms of Hunslet with medial *f*—*Hunesflet*, *Hunseflet*—show fairly clearly that the original form of the termination was O.E. *fleót*, *fléote* = an arm of the sea, mouth of a river, a river, stream. The first part of the name is the O.E. personal name Hun, or the cognate O.N. Hunn (see Hunshelf), and the meaning of O.E. *Hunesfleot* is accordingly "the stream of Hun or Hunn."

HURST (COURTNEY).

Hirst Courteney, Hurst Kurtenay (K.I., 213, 285, 344 [1285–1316]).

Hyrste (P.T. [1379]).

HURST (TEMPLE).

Templehurst (K.I., 344 [1285–1316]).

Temple Hurst (C.B. map [1789]).

The name Hurst, or Hirst, is frequently found both alone and in compounds like Deerhurst, Chiselhurst, etc. It is the O.E. word *hyrst* = brushwood, scrub, copse. The true northern spelling of the name is Hirst, and the form Hurst has probably penetrated northwards from the south or south-western districts of England. The name Courtney in Hurst Courtney is a Norman name, taking its origin from Courtenay in the Isle de France. There were Courtneys in Yorkshire at the time of the Poll Tax of 1379. Hurst Temple, or Templehurst, marks a settlement of the Knights Templars.

HUTTON WANDESLEY.

Wandeslage (D.B., 176, 219 [1086]).

Nich. de Wandesleghe (Y.I., i., 227 [1282]).

Nich. de Wandeslay (Y.I., i., 233 [1281]).

Hoton, Hoton juxta Marston, Hoton Wandesley (K.I., 28, 222, 291, 342 [1285–1316]).

Hutton Wandesley seems originally to have been known simply as Wandesley, where the first element is identical with that in Wandesley (Notts.) (D.B. *Wanddeslei*), Wansford (K.C.D., *Wandesford*), and Wanstrow (K.C.D., *Wandestraw*). It was probably a personal name Wande, which appears in the compound Wandefrith, recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, so that Wandesley means "the meadow of Wande, or Wandefrith." The name Hutton is probably another form of Hooton (*q.v.*).

IDLE.

Ydele (C.C., 46 [1230]).

Idele, Idel, Idell (K.I., 30, 224, 279, 360 [1285–1316]).

Idla (C.C., 45 [1190]).

Idle presents the same phonological problem as Adel (*q.v.*). I think it highly probable that the O.E. form of the name was *Idanleah*, *i.e.*, the lea or meadow of Ida. Ida is the name of a sixth century king of Bernicia (see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 547), and it may be from this Anglian king that Idle derives its name.

ILKLEY.

Ὀλίκανα (Claudius Ptolemy, p. xiv. [A.D. 120]).

Illicleia, Illiclei, Ilecliue, Illecliue (D.B., 40, 130, 210, 211 [1086]).

Illecley (C.C.R., i., 418 [1253]).

Ylkelay (Y.I., i., 86 [1260]).

Ilkeley, Ylkelay (K.I., 31, 207, 286, 347 [1285–1316]).

Hillicleg (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

In spite of the spelling *Hillicleg* in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, it can scarcely be doubted that the name Ilkley is developed out of the Romano-Celtic *Olicana*. The method of development is interesting. The original termination, which the Anglian settlers found meaningless, is dropped, and the familiar O.E. *léah* (a lea, meadow) is substituted for it. (In the D.B. forms of Ilkley there is uncertainty between O.E. *léah*, a meadow, and O.E. *clif*, a cliff.) The first part of the name, *Olic-*, was first of all changed by the influence of the following *i* to *Ulic* and the *u*, thus formed, then underwent *i-* mutation to *Ylic*, which subsequently was reduced

to *Ylk* or *Ilk*. This change from *Olic* to *Ylic*, which is similar to that of Latin *molina*, through *mulina* to O.E. *mylen* (a mill), must have taken place in the sixth, or, at latest, the seventh century. (See Pogatscher, *Ueber die Chronologie des altenglischen i- Umlants*, Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, xviii., 465). Professor Anwyl is disposed to associate the name *Olicana* with the Gaulish *Oliccia*, a place near Belfort, in the department of Haut-Saône, and with the Gaulish personal name Olicios, found in an inscription at Autun. "Olicana," he writes, "is not improbably an adjective qualifying some such word as land, and derived from a personal name Olicos."

INGBIRCHWORTH.

Berceworde (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Bircheworth (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Bircheworth (P.T. [1379]).

Ingbyrchworth (Y.F., i., 71 [1535]).

Ingbirchworth was originally simply Birchworth, *i.e.*, "the dwelling-place by the birch-trees." The O.E. word *beorc* = a birch-tree, influenced to some extent, perhaps, by the cognate O.D. form *birk*, becomes M.E. *berche*, *birche*, and Mod. E. *birch*. At a comparatively late date the prefix *ing* was added, which probably comes from O.N. *eng* = a meadow, and is found in the place-name Bubwith Ings. The meaning of Ingbirchworth is accordingly "the dwelling-place by the birch-trees in the meadow."

INGERTHORPE.

Ingerthorp, Ingrithorp (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9, 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Ingretthorpp (Y.L.S. 29 [1297]).

Ingarthorp, Ingerthorp, Ingrithorp, Inglethorp (K.I., 212, 331, 388, 418, 435 [1285–1316]).

The forms *Ingarthorpe* and *Ingrithorpe* both point back to the O.N. personal name Ingvar, which is probably identical with Hinguar, the name in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* of the Danish viking who ravaged the Anglian kingdom and murdered St. Edmund in the year 870. Under the forms *Ingar* and *Ingær*, the name appears as that of a landholder in Domesday Book. The meaning of Ingerthorpe is accordingly "the hamlet or village of Ingvar."

INGLETON.

Inglestune (D.B., 31 [1086]).

Ingeltun (Simeon of Durham, i., 90 [circ. 1130]).

Ingleton, Ingelton (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

It seems probable that the *Inglestune* of Domesday is a more primitive form of Ingleton than any of the other spellings recorded above, and there can be little doubt that the first element in *Inglestune* is the genitive case of a personal name. This name may be O.E. *Ingeld*, a name mentioned in *Beowulf*, or it may be the O.N. *Ingivaldr*, *Ingjaldr*, or *Ingulfr*. In Norway there are a number of villages called Ingelsrud, some of which go back to *Ingjaldsrud*, others to *Ingulfsrud*.

INGMANTHORPE.

Gemunstorp, Germundstorp (D.B., 71, 173, 223 [1086]).

Ingmanthorp, 45, 205 [1285–1316]).

Ingmanthorpe (C.C.R., iii., 151 [1310]).

The difference between the *Gemunstorp* of Domesday Book and the *Ingmanthorpe* of later documents is capable of reconciliation. Both go back to the O.N. personal name Ingimundr, which appears in the *Ingimundarholt* of the Icelandic *Landnamabok*, and, under the form Ingimund, is found as the name of a landholder in Domesday Book. Ingmanthorpe goes back therefore to O.N. *Ingimundar-thorp* = the village of Ingimundr. The D.B. form *Germundstorp* points to the O.N. personal name Geirmundr, but is without support.

KEIGHLEY.

Chichelai (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Kicheleia, Kikeleie, Kighelay, Kyhhelay, Kixelay, Kidtheleia, (C.B.K., 42, 46, 67, 68, 70, 74 [1234 *et post*]).

Kygheley, Kighley [K.I., 16, 43, 192, 357 [1285–1316]).

Kyghelay (C.C.R., iii., 61 [1305]).

Hen. de Kythelay (C.C., 154 [1311]).

There can be no doubt that the most primitive of the forms of Keighley recorded above are the *Chichelai* of D.B. and the *Kicheleia*, *Kikeleie* of the Kirkstall Coucher Book. The name Keighley is therefore probably identical in origin with that of the village of Chicheley (Bucks.), which appears as *Cicelai* in D.B., and also with the name of the famous Archbishop Chichele. It is also probable that Keighley is akin to the name Chickenley, borne by a village near Ossett, a thirteenth century form of which is *Chykenley* (see *Wakefield Court Rolls*, i., 162). But whereas Chickenley goes back to O.E. *Cycenaleah* = the meadow of the chickens, Chicheley and Keighley go back to O.E. *Cycaleah*, where *Cyca* stands to *Cycena* in just the same relation that modern English *chick* stands to *chicken*. The development of Keighley from a 'hen-run' into a town famous for its commercial enterprise and international courtesy, is a notable illustration of civic progress.

No less interesting are the phonetic changes which the name has undergone. Contact with Scandinavian settlers arrested the fronting of the initial *c* to *ch* which has taken place in Chicheley and Chickenley, and, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, we see the substitution of the *th* for the medial spirant *ch* or *gh*, which, in their turn, had replaced the earlier *c* sound. This is a rare form of sound-substitution, but we meet with the exact opposite of it in the development of *Levenathtun* into *Levanachton* and *Levenaghton* (see Lennerton). In addition to the pronunciation 'Keethley,' there is at the present day the form 'Keeley'; this is due to the dropping of the medial consonant sound; *cf. Leeley*, a variant of Leathley.

Mr. C. J. Battersby draws my attention to the personal name Cichus, which occurs in several O.E. charters (see Searle, *Onomasticon*), and may well be a Latinised form of an O.E. name Cica, Cyca, or O.N. Kikr. It may, therefore, be that Keighley is the lea of a man of this name.

KELBROOK.

Chelbroc, Cheuebroc (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Kelebrok (C.C.R., ii., 482 [1300]).

Kelbroc (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

Kelbroc (C.B.K., 334 [1329]).

Kelbrook probably derives the first part of its name from O.N. *kelda*, Swed. *källa* (= a spring, well, boggy place), which appear in the dialects of the north of England under the forms *keld* and *kell* (see N.E.D. and Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*, '*keld*'). The termination in Kelbrook is O.E. *bróc* = brook, stream, and the apparent meaning of the whole is "the brook which flows from a spring," or "the boggy stream."

KELLINGTON.

Chelinctone, Chellinctone, Chelintune, Ghelintune (D.B., 106, 215 [1086]).

Kelington (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Kelyngton (P.T. [1379]).

The O.E. personal name *Ceola* is fairly common, while compounds of *Ceol-*, *e.g.*, *Ceolric*, *Ceolbeorht*, *Ceolfrith*, are still commoner in early documents. *Ceoling*, the patronymic of *Ceola*, would normally be palatalised to *Cheling* or *Chelling* in M.E., as is the case with the place-name Chellington (Bedfordshire), but in the Anglo-Danish parts of England this change was frequently arrested. The O.E. form of Kellington would be *Ceolingtun* = the enclosure of Ceola, or *Ceolingatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Ceola.

KEREBY.

Cherebi (D.B., 133, 222 [1086]).

Kereby (P.Q.W., 192 [1279–81]).

Kereby (K.I., 45, 204, 349 [1285–1316]).

I have not found the Scandinavian name Kiari, but the name of Petrus Kæreson occurs in the *Registret til Scriptores rerum Danicarum,* under the date 1404 (see Nielsen, p. 56), and looks like the patronymic of the personal name Kiari, which would appear in M.E. as Kere. Kereby may therefore mean "the farm of a man called Kiari."

KERESFORTH.

Thos. de Keuerisforth (Y.D., 47 [n.d.]).

Will de Keuerisforth (Y.D., 64 [1349]).

Kerysforth (Y.D., 64 [1385]).

Ric. de Keresforth (Y.D., 64 [1385]).

Creuesford (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

It is probable that the D.B. *Creuesford* is a metathesized form of *Ceuresford;* in any case we may regard *Keuerisforth* or *Keverisforth* as the most primitive of the forms given above. This is in all probability a Scandinavian form of O.E. *Ceaforesford*, in which the first element is O.E. *ceafor* = a beetle, cock-chafer, used as a nickname in the same way that O.E. *wifel* = a weevil, beetle, appears as a nickname in Wilsill, Wilsden, etc. The O.E. *ceafor* appears in the *Ceaforleah* (Worcs.) of K.C.D., Nos. 570, 1088, and also in the Oxfordshire Caversham (D.B. *Caueresha*') and the Staffordshire Caverswall (D.B. *Cavreswelle*).

KESWICK (DUN).

Kesewic, Kesewyk (C.B.K., ii., 26 [1209]).

Kesewyk (P.Q.W., 200 [1279–81]).

Kesewik, Kesewyk (K.I., 206, 295, 349 [1285–1316]).

Chesvic (D.B., 194, 222 [1086]).

Donkeswyke (Y.F., i., 152 [1550]).

KESWICK (EAST).

Est Kesewyk, Kesewik, Kessewik, Kesywyk (K.I., 42, 209, 287, 348 [1285–1316]).

Chesuic, Chesing (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

The first element in the name Keswick is probably Anglian-English *cése*, West Saxon *cíese*, *císe* = cheese. In Anglo-Danish districts O.E. *c* before front vowels was frequently not palatalised to *ch*, and the Cumberland word *kesvat* = cheese-vat, and the northern dialects word *keslip* or *keslop* = rennet, are other instances

of this absence of palatisation of Anglian *cése*. With the dropping of the inflectional *e* in *Kesewic*, the long *e* in O.E. *cése* became shortened before the two consonants, and the resultant form is Keswick. The meaning of Keswick is accordingly "the cheese farm," or "the dairy farm."

KETTLEWELL.

Cheteleuuelle (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Ketelwell (C.C.R., ii., 174 [1271]).

Ketelwell (K.I., 19, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

It may be that Kettlewell goes back to a form *Ketilswell*, in which the first element is the familiar Scandinavian personal name Ketill, which appears in a number of Norwegian place-names, *e.g.*, Ketilsrud, Kittelsrud, Kittelsland, Ketilsdal, Kjelsad.

But the absence of the medial *s* in all the above forms of Kettlewell, and the fact that the D.B. form is *Cheteleuuelle*, seem to point back to an earlier *Ketelanwella*, in which the first element is not Ketill but Ketila, or some name compounded with Ketill, *e.g.*, Ketilfrith, Ketilmoth, etc. The termination is O.E. *well*, *wella* = spring, fountain, well, and the meaning of the whole may therefore be "the spring or well of Ketila, or Ketilfrith."

KEXBOROUGH.

Cezeburg, Chizeburg (D.B., 108, 216 [1086]).

Adam de Kexeburg' (Y.I., ii., 8 [1283]).

Keseburgh (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Kexburgh (V.E., 43 [1535]).

On the analogy of Kexmoor (*q.v.*), it seems probable that Kexborough goes back to an original *Ketilsburh* or *Ketilsborg*, *i.e.*, the fortified house or manor-house of a Scandinavian called Ketill. The process of sound-change was apparently somewhat as follows: *Ketilsburh* > *Ketesburgh* > *Kekesburgh* > *Kexeburgh* or *Keseburgh* > *Kexborough*. The substitution of the *k* sound for original *t* is common in Norway, where we find Ketilsrud passing into Kikkelsrud and into Kjeksrud; also Ketilsstad into Kjekstad, and Ketilshus into Kjekshus (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–160),

KEXMOOR.

Ric de Ketelsmore (Y.L.S., 25 [1297]).

Ketelesmore, Ketelismore (Y.I., iii., 155, 163 [1301]).

Chetesmor, Cotesmore (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

The forms *Ketelesmore* and *Ketelismor* of the *Yorkshire Inquisitions* make it certain that Kexmoor is from an original *Ketilsmor* = the moor or swamp of a Scandinavian called Ketill. See under Kexborough for a study of the sound-changes which have taken place in this name.

KIDDAL.

Chidale, Chidal (D.B., 97, 98, 210 [1086]).

Kiddall (C.B.K., 287 [n.d.]).

Kidall (K.I., 208 [1285–1316]).

The termination in Kiddal is a matter of uncertainty, but it is probable that it has nothing to do with O.E. *dæl*, or O.N. *dalr* = a dale. It may be O.E. *healh*, *halh* = a corner of land, or, more probably, O.E. *lêah* = a lea, meadow. The first element in the name is probably the O.E. personal name Cydda, which is not infrequent in early charters, and enters into the formation of the place-name Kidmore (Wilts.), which is spelt *Ciddemor* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 460). We have accordingly to choose between *Cyddanhalh* and *Cyddanleah* as the original form of Kiddal. As to the possibility of *Cyddanleah* passing into *Kiddal*, see Adel.

KILDWICK.

Childeuuic (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Kildewike (R.A.G., 36 [1272]).

Kildewik, Kyldewyk (K.I., 14, 957 [1285–1316]).

The first part of this name is probably O.N. *kelda* = a spring, well; in Iceland, a bog. The meaning is accordingly "the village (O.E. *wîc*) by the spring of water"; *cf.* Kelbrook. For the change of O.N. *e* to English *i*—*Keldawic* > *Kildewic* > *Kildwick*—*cf.* Mod. E. *stithy* from O.N. *stethi*, and see Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 109.

KILLINGHALL.

Chilingehal (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Chilingale, Kilingala, Chenihalle, Chenehalle (D.B., 14, 41, 222, 223 [1086]).

Kelinghale (Y.I., ii., 109 [1290]).

Kilinghale, Killinghall, Kyllynghall, Kelynghall (K.I., 211, 353, 436 [1285–1316]).

The *Killing-* of Killinghall, Killingbeck, Killingholme, Killington, etc., is the unpalatalised form of the *Chilling-* which appears in Chillingham, Chillington, Chillingworth. The preservation of the *k* sound may be due to Scandinavian influence, or it may be that the forms with *k* go back to O.E. *Cylling*, the *c* not being fronted to *ch* before *y*, while the forms with *ch* go back to O.E. *Cilling*. The O.E. form of Killinghall was probably *Cyllingahall* or *Cyllingahalh*, *i.e.*, "the hall of the sons of Cylla," or "the corner of enclosed land belonging to the sons of Cylla." The simple form Cylla without the suffix *-ing* appears in the *Cyllanhrycg*, *Kyllanhrygc* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 126, 561, 682, 1369), while the *-ing* form appears in *Cyllincgcot* (K.C.D., 570).

KIMBERWORTH.

Kimberworth (K.I., 3, 10, 233 [1285–1316]).

Kymberworthe (Y.I., ii., 12 [1283]).

Kymberworth (C.C.R., iii., 121 [1308]).

There is no mention of Kimberworth in Domesday Book, but Kimberley (Notts.) appears there as *Chinemareleie*, while in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 816), we find an unidentified *Cynæmærestun*, and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 800, mention is made of *Cynemæresford*, usually identified with Kempsford (Glos.). The O.E. form of Kimberworth was therefore undoubtedly *Cynemæreswurth* = the enclosure or farmstead of Cynemær.

KINSLEY.

Chineslai, Chineslei (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Kyneslay (Y.I., iii., 1 [1244]).

The O.E. form of Kinsley would be *Cynesleah* = the lea or meadow of Cyne. *Cyne*, which is properly an adjective meaning 'royal,' 'kingly,' enters into the formation of the O.E. word *cyning* = king, and into that of a number of O.E. personal names, *e.g. Cynebeald, Cynemær, Cyneheard.*

KIPPAX.

Chipesch (D.B., 96, 210 [1086]).

Kepask (C.B.S., i., 191 [n.d.]).

Kypeis, Kippeis, Kipeis, Kippeys, Kippes (P.C., 18, 20, 25, 36, 232, 239 [1090]).

Kepax (K.I., 38, 210 [1285–1316]).

Kypax (Y.D., 57, 352 [1397]).

It is improbable that the first element in Kippax is the O.E. *cép* or *cíp*, which are the Mercian and Northumbrian forms respectively of O.E. *céap* = a market; for there is nothing to cause the shortening of O.E. *cép, cíp*, to M.E. *cep, cip*. The first element in this name is more probably the northern dialect word *kip*, which means a sharp-pointed hill or a jutting point on the side of a hill (see Murray's *Dictionary*, 'Kip'). The word is of Teutonic origin and closely allied to the Low German *Kippe*. We find it in several hill-names in the north of England and Scotland, *e.g.*, East Kip and West Kip in the Pentlands, Kip Law in Northumberland, and The Kip in Roxburghshire. The termination is either O.E. *æsc* or O.N. *askr* = an ash-tree, and in the modern pronunciation of the name there has been metathesis of the *s* and the *k* or *c*; *cf.* 'to ask' and 'to axe' from O.E. *ascian, acsian*. The meaning of Kippax is accordingly "the ash-tree on the hill."

KIRKBURTON.

Bertone (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Byrton' (Y.L.S., 103 [1297]).

Birton (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Byrton (P.T. [1379]).

Kyrk Burton (Y.F., i., 305 [1565]).

Most of the English Burtons go back to an O.E. *Burhtun* = the manor-house enclosure, but it is improbable that this is the case with Kirkburton. The Domesday Book spelling of the name—*Bertone*—associates it with O.E. *bere* = barley—the barley enclosure or barley field—and identifies it with the various English Bartons. But the forms *Byrton* and *Birton* seem to connect the place with O.E. *býre* = a cow-house, byre, which would give us *Byretun, Byrton* = an enclosure of land with a cow-house upon it, as the original form of the name. The prefixing of the word Kirk probably dates from the reign of Edward III., when a church was built at Kirkburton.

KIRKBY (par. Littleouseburn).

Chirchebi (D.B., 177, 220 [1086]).

Kirkeby (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Kirkeby (P.T. [1379]).

KIRKBY MALZEARD.

Chirchebi (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

Kyrkeby (Y.I., i., 180 [1272]).

Kyrkebymalserd (Y.I., ii., 16 [1284]).

Kirkeby Malsard, Kyrkby Malsart, Malserd (K.I., 46, 205, 294 [1285–1316]).

KIRKBY MALHAM.

Chirchebi (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Kirkeby, Kyrkeby (K.I., 22, 201 [1285–1316]).

Kirkby Malham (C.B. map [1789]).

KIRKBY OVERBLOW.

Cherchebi, Chirchebi (D.B., 133, 222 [1086]).

Kirkeby Orblawere (C.C.R., ii., 249 [1257–1300]).

Kyrkeby Orblauers, Orblawere, Kirkeby Feres (K.I., 45, 203, 293 [1285–1316]).

Kyrkeby Orbloers (C.P.R., i., 349 [1257]).

Kyrkebyeoverblowes (Kn. W., i., 200 [1594]).

KIRKBY (SOUTH).

Cherchebi, Chirchebi (D.B., 105, 215 [1285–1316]).

South Kyrkeby, Suth Kirkby (K.I., 5, 239 [1285–1316]).

At a time when village churches were rare, the possession of such a building was sufficient distinction to find a memorial in the name of the place. Kirkby (the village with a church) is a Scandinavian name, formed out of O.N. *kirkja*, a derivative from O.E. *cyrice*, a church, and Danish *by* = a village, hamlet.

In the Introduction to this volume (p. xxxiv.), I have suggested that the name Malzeard is derived from the family of the Malesardi, merchant-princes of Lucca, who had many commercial transactions with England in the thirteenth century. Mr. H. B. McCall has convinced me that this is an error, and that the name is from the Norman-French *mal essart* = the bad clearing, the badly cleared land. This is no doubt also the origin of the personal name Malesardi, but Mr. McCall informs me that the name appears in association with Kirkby as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and long before the Italian house of Malesardi had any dealings with England. See H. B. McCall, *The Peculiar of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard* (Y.A.J., xx., 233).

The 'Overblow' in Kirkby Overblow is, as Mr. Speight has conclusively shown (*Kirkby Overblow and District*, pp. 12–13), a corruption of *orblaweres*, or ore-blowers, *i.e.*, smelters. Iron-forges or 'bloomeries' were once common at Kirkby Overblow. In the form *Kirkeby Feres* we see an attempt to substitute a Norman-French form of the Latin *ferrarius* for the native 'Orblawere.'

KIRKHEATON.

Heton (Dodsworth MS. [1239 *et post*]).

Heton, Hoton (K.I., 228, 292, 351 [1285–1316]).

Kyrke Heton (Y.F., i., 37 [1520]).

Heptone (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

The Domesday spelling *Heptone* seems to connect Kirkheaton with Hepton (*q.v.*), but it is probably an incorrect form. The Heaton in Kirkheaton is almost certainly identical with the Heaton in Earl's Heaton, and comes from O.E. *héah*, *héh* = high and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. Kirkheaton accordingly means "an enclosure of land on high ground and with a church upon it."

KIRSKILL (also CRESKELD).

Hugo de Cressekelde (P.C., 348 [1210]).

Hugo de Creskelde (C.B.K., 98 [n.d.]).

Creskell (K.I., 40, 41 [1285–1316]).

Kirskill is a metathesized form of *Kreskill, Creskell*, or *Creskeld*. The first element in the name is O.E. *cresse*, also *cærse*, = cress, watercress. The termination is the northern dialect word *keld*, *kell*, or *kill*, all of which forms come from the O.N. *kelda* = a spring, well, bog; see Kelbrook and Kildwick. The meaning of Creskeld or Kirskill is accordingly "the spring or bog in which water-cress grows"; *cf. Cærswylle* = the cress spring (B.C.S., 229, 952).

KNAPTON.

Cnapetone (D.B., 163, 177, 219 [1086]).

Cnapeton (Y.I., i., 3 [1244]).

Knapton (K.I., 27, 220, 342 [1285–1316]).

The M.E. *Cnapeton, Knapeton*, have almost certainly developed out of O.E. *Cnapantun* or O.N. *Knappatun*. Searle records the O.E. personal name Cnapa in his *Onomasticon*, and indicates that it appears as a moneyer's name on a coin of the time of King Æthelstan. The O.N. personal names *Knappi* and *Knappr* are seen in the modern Norwegian place-names Knapstad, Napstad, and Nafstad.

KNARESBOROUGH.

Cnardesburc (P.R., i., 29 [1159]).

Chenaresburg (D.B., 14, 27, 134, 172 [1086]).

Knaresburgh (K.I., 211, 353, 408 [1285–1316]).

Some wild conjectures have been made as to the origin of this name, but its derivation is in reality quite straightforward. The early forms *Chenaresburg, Cnardesburc*, are slight modifications of the O.E. *Cenwardesburh* or *Cynewardesburh, i.e.*, the fortified place or manor-house of Cenward or Cyneward. The O.E. personal name Cyneward appears in the formation of the unidentified *Cynewardes gemære* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1113), while Cenward, under the form *Cenard*, appears as a moneyer's name on a coin of the time of King Æthelstan (see Grueber, *Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii.); and, under the latinised form *Kenewardus*, it appears as a landholder's name in Domesday Book.

KNOTTINGLEY.

Notingeleia, Notingelai (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Knottyngleye (C.C.R., ii., 436 [1294]).

Knottingley (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Knottingley would be *Cnottingaleah; Cnoting*, or *Knotting*, is the patronymic form of the O.N. personal name Knottr, which must not be mistaken for the more familiar O.N. *Knutr* O.E. *Cnut*, preserved in the place-name *Knutsford*. The unidentified *Cnotangaham* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 431) is probably an error for *Cnotingaham*, and a parallel form to the Yorkshire *Cnotingaleah*. The meaning of Knottingley is accordingly "the lea or meadow of the sons of Knottr."

LANCLIFFE.

Langecliff (C.C.R., ii., 143 [1270]).

Langeclif, Lancliff (K.I., 21, 200, 355 [1285–1316]).

Lanclif (D.B., 197 [1086]).

The meaning of Lancliffe is obvious—"the long cliff." The O.E. form would be *thæt lange clif*, or, in the dative case, *æt thém langan clife* = at the long cliff.

LANGSETT.

Langeside (C.C.R., ii., 353 [1290]).

Lanside (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Langsett (Y.F., 88 [1540]).

It is probable that Langsett is a corruption of *Langside*, the O.E. form of which would be *seo lange side* = the long side; *cf.* Langside, a suburb of Glasgow, and Longside, Aberdeenshire. The reference is probably to the hillside which rises to the north of Langsett.

LANGTHWAITE.

Langetouet (D.B., 70, 214 [1086]).

Langethwayt (C.C.R., ii., 264 [1282]).

Langethwayt, Langetwait, Langewath (K.I., 231, 282, 366 [1285–1316]).

The first part of the name Langthwaite is O.N. *langr* or O.E. *lang* = long; to this has been added O.N. *thveit* = a clearing. The meaning of Langthwaite is therefore "a long stretch of ground cleared for cultivation."

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN.

Lastone (D.B., 116, 212 [1086]).

Lacton Imorthing (C.C.R., i., 454 [1256]).

Laghton, Laughton, Laython in Morthyng (K.I., 2, 365, 410 [1285–1316]).

In the D.B. spelling of this name *s* stands for *c*, and it is probable that the O.E. form of Laughton was *Lactun*. The first element may well be O.E. *lacu*, which means a lake, but also a pool, and even a bog. In the sense of a bog this word still survives as a Yorkshire dialect word; (see Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*, 'lache'). The dropping of the final *u* in the O.E. compound *Lactun*, from earlier *Lacutun*, is similar to the dropping of the *e* in *Berwic*, *Bertun*, from the earlier *Berewic*, *Beretun*. Laughton may accordingly mean "the boggy enclosure"; *cf. Lacmere*, *Lacweg* (K.C.D., 447, 485). For Morthen, see Brampton-en-le-Morthen, and Introduction, p. xxii.

Mr. C. J. Battersby doubts the existence of a boggy enclosure at Laughten-en-le-Morthen, and draws my attention to the O.E. form *láhtún* = a herb enclosure, a garden, quoted by Wright in his Vocabularies, and probably a variant of the more usual O.E. *léactun*. The development of *Láhtun* into Laughton is quite normal.

LAVERTON.

Lavretone (D.B., 28, 181 [1086]).

Lavertun (C.C.R., ii., 442 [1294]).

Laverton appears to owe its name to the river Laver, on the bank of which it stands; hence, "the enclosure by the Laver." But there is a Laverton in Somerset, also spelt *Lavretone* in D.B., which is not on any river at all; and the question therefore arises whether the Yorkshire river has not taken its name from the village and not *vice versa*. If this be the case, we may connect Laverton with O.E. *læfer* = a rush, bulrush, reed, and interpret the name as "the enclosure by the rushes"; *cf.* the O.E. word *læferbedd* = a bed of rushes.

LAYCOCK.

Lacoc (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Lackac (K.I., 16 [1285–1316]).

Lacock (Y.D., 34 [1272]).

The spelling of Laycock in Kirkby's Inquest seems to indicate that the termination of the name is O.E. *ác* = oak. If so, the Domesday spelling of this name, with the development of O.E. *á* into open *ó* must be one of the earliest examples of a change which did not become general until the twelfth century (see Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 134). The first part of the name may be O.E. *lác* = a 'laik,' game, playing, dancing. If this derivation is correct, we may regard Laycock as the oak-tree around which games were played and dancing took place. There is a Laycock in Wiltshire which is also spelt *Lacoc* in D.B., but in the south of England the usual word for a game or sport was 'play' (O.E. *plega*), which is seen in such place-names as Playstow, Playford, Playdike (*Plegdic* in K.C.D., 408).

LEAD.

Lede, Led, Lied (D.B., 99, 204, 211 [1086]).

Lede (C.C.R., ii., 255 [1281]).

Lede, Leede, Led (K.I., 214, 284, 346 [1285–1316]).

Leade (Leland's Itinerary, i., 44 [1538]).

See Leeds.

LEATHLEY.

Ledelai (D.B., 133, 161, 199 [1086]).

Lethelay, Letheley, Leley (K.I., 44, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

Letheleia, Lethele, Leleya, Leelay, Lelay (C.B.K., 75, 76, 77, 208 [n.d.]).

In the absence of any O.E. spelling of this name, it is difficult to make sure of its original form. There is a rare O.E. word, *leothu*, which means "a retinue, body of retainers," and it is possible that Leathley is connected with it. If so, the O.E. form would be *Leotheleah* = the meadow of the king's or prince's retinue. It is also possible that the first element in the name is O.E. *hléda* = a seat—hence, "the meadow with a seat in it." In the latter case, we must assume the development of *th* out of O.E. *d* as in the word 'father' from O.E. *fæder*.

LEDSHAM.

Ledesha' (D.B., 101, 212 [1086]).

Ledesham (P.C., 18, 29, 32 [1090]).

Ledesham (K.I., 345 [1285–1316]).

See Leeds.

LEDSTONE.

Ledestune, Ledestun (D.B., 96, 210 [1086]).

Ledestun (P.C., 18 [1090]).

Ledeston (K.I., 209, 348 [1285–1316]).

See Leeds.

LEEDS.

In regione quae vocatur Loidis (Bede, II., xiv. [731]).

In regione Loidis (Bede, III., xxiv. [731]).

Leodes (Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, cap. lxv. [circ. 796]).

Ledes (D.B., 99, 210 [1086]).

Ledes, Ledys (K.I., 38, 209, 287, 348 [1285–1316]).

As stated in the Introduction, pp. ix.–xii., I am of the opinion that Lead, Ledsham, Ledston, and Leeds all contain the same element and all go back to the regional name *Loidis*, mentioned by Bede, which was the name of the district on the north bank of the Aire between Leeds and Sherburn-in-Elmet. The name *Loidis* is certainly not English; it may be Celtic. I have no idea of its meaning. But at an early period it became changed, in accordance with the principle of popular etymology, to *Leodes*, which is the

genitive case, singular, of the O.E. *léod* = a prince. Bede's phrase, *regio Loidis*, changed to *regio Leodes*, came therefore to mean "the district of the prince." With the reduction of the diphthong *éo* to the simple vowel *é* in early Middle English times, *Leodes* became *Ledes*, and from this has developed the modern Leeds. In Ledsham and Ledston we see the addition of the familiar endings *hamm* and *tún*, both of which signify "an enclosure." In Lead, the earlier form of which is *Lede*, the final *s* has been lost.

LENNERTON.

Nich. de Leuenadtona (P.C., 390 [n.d.]).

Levenachton, Levenacton, Levenaton, Leveneston (A.G.R., 226, 229 [1227]).

Levanachton, Levenaghton, Levenaton (K.I., 384, 399, 403, 405, 414 [1285–1316]).

Leveneton (Y.I., ii., 88 [1289]).

Lennarton (Y.F., i., 105 [1543]).

Of the many early forms of Lennerton, it is probable that the *Levenadtone* of the *Pontefract Chartulary* comes nearest to the original. The first element in the name seems to have been the O.E. personal name *Leofnoth*, which appears as *Leofnoth*, *Leofenath*, *Levenath* in a number of O.E. charters, and under the form *Levenot* as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. The conversion of *Leofnothestun*, *Levenathestun* (*i.e.*, the enclosure of Leofnoth) into *Levenachton*, *Levenaghton*, with the substitution of *ch*, *gh* for *th*, is the exact obverse of the change which has taken place in Keighley (*q.v.*). The modern form Lennerton seems to have arisen from the older *Leveneton* through the syncope of the *ve*, and the development of an *r*, as in Attercliffe from earlier *Attecliffe*.

LEPTON.

Leptone (D.B., III, 217 [1086]).

Lepton (Dodsworth MS. [1225]).

Lepton (K.I., 228, 292 [1285–1316]).

If such a spelling of Lepton as *Leppeton* could be found, it would be natural to connect the name with the O.N. personal name *Leppi* which appears in the Norwegian place-names Lepparud, Leppestad, Lefstad (see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 174). In the absence of such a form, it is permissible to derive Lepton from the O.E. *Hleaptun*, in which the first element is connected with O.E. *hléapan* = to leap, dance. This would give us as the meaning of Lepton "the enclosure where leaping or dancing took place"; *cf.* Hopperton and Laycock. The O.N. form of O.E. *hléapan* = to leap, is *hlaupa*, and the O.N. *Hlauptun* would develop into the place-name Lupton, with *Loupton* as an intermediate form.

LINDLEY (near Huddersfield).

Gilb. de Lindelea (P.R., xi., 94 [1167]).

Linley (Dodsworth MS. [1316]).

Lillai, Lillaia (D.B., 112, 128 [1086]).

LINDLEY (near Otley).

Lindeleh (B.C.S., iii., 577 [977]).

Lindelay, Lyndelay, Lyndeley (K.I., 204, 294, 389, 404 [1285–1316]).

Linleia, Linlaia (C.B.K., 56, 59 [n.d.]).

The two Lindleys are almost certainly identical in origin, the D.B. spelling *Lillai* being inaccurate. The first element is O.E. *lind*, *linde* = the linden or lime-tree, to which has been added O.E. *léah* = a lea, meadow. The meaning of Lindley (O.E. *Lindeleah*) is accordingly "the meadow by the linden tree."

LINGARDS.

Will de Lingarthes (W.C.R., i., 274 [1297]).

Lingarthys (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name may be (1) O.N. or O.E. *lind* = the linden or lime-tree, (2) O.N. or O.E. *lín* = flax. The termination is O.N. *garthr* = an enclosed space, garth. The meaning is accordingly "the enclosures by the linden-trees," or "the flax-enclosures."

LINTON.

Lintone (D.B., 134, 223 [1086]).

Linton (C.C.R., ii., 163 [1271]).

Lynton (K.I., 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

The Cambridge and Gloucestershire Lintons appear as *Lintun* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 725, 916), and it is probable that the Yorkshire Linton goes back to the same O.E. form. The first element is O.E. *lín* = flax, and the meaning of the whole is "the flax enclosure," "the flax field." The long *i* in O.E. *lín* has undergone shortening before two consonants.

LITTLETHORPE.

Torp (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Thorpp' (Y.L.S., 22 [1297]).

Thorp (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

This name—the little village—needs no comment.

LITTON.

Litone (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Litton (C.C.R., ii., 163 [1271]).

Litton, Lytton (K.I., 19, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

In Kemble's *Codex* (No. 386), Litton Cheney, in Dorset, appears as *Lidentun*, and it may be that this, or the yet earlier *Lidantun* (= the sailor's enclosure) is the original form of the Yorkshire Litton. But Litton (Somerset) appears in the *Codex* as *Hlyttun*, *Hlytton* (Nos. 816, 839), where the first element is apparently O.E. *hlȳt* = a lot, portion, share, and the meaning of Litton is "the allotted enclosure." Finally, Litton may go back to an original *Hlithtun*, in which the first element is O.E. *hlith* = a slope—hence, "the sloping enclosure"; *cf. Hanlith.* In the absence of O.E. spellings, it is impossible to say from which of these three forms the Yorkshire Litton is derived.

LIVERSEDGE.

Livresec, Liuresech (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Liversegge (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Leversege, Liverssege, Lyversege (KI., 30, 225, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

The first part of this name is probably the O.E. personal name Leofhere, Liofhere, which appears in the place-name *Leoferes haga* (K.C.D., 688), and, in the weakened form Lifere, as the name of a moneyer of the time of Edward the Confessor (see Grueber, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii.). The termination in Liversedge is O.E. *ecg* = edge, limit, boundary. The name Liversedge (O.E. *Liofheresecg*) accordingly means "the boundary of the territory of Liofhere."

LOFTHOUSE (par. Rothwell).

Lofthusum, Lofthus (C.B.K., 84, 112 [n.d.]).

Locthuse, Loftose (D.B., 113, 218 [1086]).

Lofthous, Lofthouse (K.I., 226, 280 [1285–1316]).

LOFTHOUSE (HILL).

Locthusun, Lothuse, (D.B., 187, 221 [1086]).

Lofthouse, Lofthouses (K.I., 211, 353 [1285–1316]).

There are several places of this name in Yorkshire, and the origin of the name is in each case the same. The D.B. form *Loct-* is misleading, the true form being *Loft-*. This is either O.N. *lopt* (pronounced *loft*) or Danish *loft* = an upper floor, garret, loft. To

this is added the O.N. or O.E. *húsum*, the dat. plur. of *hús* = a house. The exact meaning of Lofthouse is therefore " (at) the houses with an upper floor."

LONGFIELD.

Langefelt (D.B., 13 [1086]).

Longefeld (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Langfeld (Y.D., 74 [1534]).

The meaning of this name is obvious—the long field; O.E. *in thǽm langan felda* = in the long field.

LOTHERSDALE.

Lodresdene (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Lotheresden, Lothereston [K.I., 15 [1285–1316]).

Lothersden or Lothersdale (Langdale's "Topography of Yorkshire," 349 [1822]).

Letheresden (P.Q.W., 205 [1279–81]).

There is some variation in the termination of this name, but the form in *-den*, from O.E. *denu* = a valley, seems to have been the original one, and it remained in use as late as the nineteenth century. The first element in the name is probably the O.E. personal name Hlothhere, which occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and, as *Lothere*, in the place-name *Lotheresleh* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1223). The form *Letheresden* shows confusion between the two O.E. names Hlothhere and Leodhere, from the latter of which comes the place-name Letherhead; similar confusion arose in Germany between the forms Hlodhar and Liuthar, which are cognate with the O.E. Hlothhere and Leodhere respectively. See Lotherton.

LOTHERTON.

Luttringtun (B.C.S., iii., 695 [972]).

Luteryngton (Y.I., i., 183 [1278]).

Luteryngton, Lutrington, Lotrington (K.I., 48, 213, 284, 345, 406, 427 [1285–1316]).

Lotherton (Y.F., iii., 30 [1584]).

See Lothersdale. In Lotherton we have apparently the O.E. personal name Hlothhere with the addition of the patronymic *-ing*, *-inga*. The original form seems to have been *Hlothheringatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Hlothhere. This was subsequently reduced to *Lotherington* or *Lutherington*, and then, with the loss of the patronymic *-ing*, to Lotherton.

LOVERSALL.

Luureshale, Loureshale, Geureshale (D.B., 67, 205, 214 [1086]).

Luvereshale, Luversale, Loversale, Loveshale (R.A.G., 24, 25, 26, 80 [1266–79]).

Loversale, Loversalle, Lovershall (K.I., 5, 8, 231, 282 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that the first element in Loversall is the O.E. personal name Leofhere which appears also in Liversedge (*q.v.*). The Old German form of Leofhere is Liubheri or Liupheri, and, already in the ninth century, we find this developing into the two forms *Libheri* and *Lubhar*, which have become the modern German names Lieber and Luber (see Förstemann, 'Liubheri'). Similarly, O.E. Leofhere has apparently developed into the two M.E. forms *Lever* and *Luver*, from which have sprung Liversedge and Loversall respectively. The termination is either O.E. *hall* or *halh*, and the meaning of Loversall is therefore "Leofhere's hall," or "Leofhere's corner of land" (*Leofhereshall, Leofhereshalh*).

LUMBY.

Lundby (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972]).

Lumby (K.I., 48, 213 [1285–1316]).

Adam de Lumbi (Y.D., 154 [n.d.]).

The form *Lundby* for Lumby in Birch's *Cartularium* is very helpful in determining the meaning of this name. It points to O.N. *lundr* (= a grove) as the first element in the name, to which has been added the Danish *by* = a farm, village. The meaning of Lumby is accordingly "the village or farm by the grove of trees." The O.N. *lundr*, pl. *lundar*, appears in the formation of the Icelandic place-name *Lundarbrekka* (= the edge of the groves; see *Landnamabok*, iii., 18).

MALHAM.

Malgun, Malgon (D.B., 30, 135, 224 [1086]).

Malghom, Malhom (M.F., ii., pt. i., 7, 14 [temp. Hen. II.]).

Malgum (C.C.R., i., 463 [1257]).

Malghum, Malhum, Malgham (K.I., 18, 191, 200, 355 [1285–1316]).

Maleholme (Y.F., iii., 130 [1590]).

Malham (Y.F., iii., 15 [1583]).

This name presents a great deal of difficulty, and the following attempts to explain it must be looked upon as little better than guesswork. In the first place, it is clear that the termination *-ham* in Malham is not original, but has replaced the earlier dative plural inflexion of O.E. nouns, *-um ; cf.* Ripon and Newsam. Secondly, the early M.E. forms *Malgum, Malghum,* seem to point back to *Malcum,* or *in Malcum* as the O.E. form of the name. But there is no such word as *malc, mealc, malce,* or *mealce* recorded in O.E. literature ; Old High German, however, has a word *malaha,* or *malha* = a leather wallet, which is cognate with Greek μόλγος = a skin, hide. It is possible, therefore, that a word *malc,* or *mealc,* or *mealce* existed in O.E., though there is no record of it in literature ; its meaning may have been 'a skin,' or 'something made of skins.' Such a word could hardly of itself supply the name of a place, and I am not proposing to interpret Malham—*in Malcum*—as "among the skins." It might, however, be a personal name, or even a clan-name, and Förstemann records in his *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* both the personal name Malchard, *i.e.,* hard-skin, and the place-name Malching (O.H.G. *Malaching, Malluhhinga*), which may perhaps be interpreted—"at the place of the sons of Maluh, Malah, or Malh." Applying this idiom to the O.E. phrase *in Malcum,* we may perhaps interpret the name as "among the clan of the Malce, or Malcas," in the same way that Jarrow—O.E. *in Gyrwum*—means "among the clan or family of the Gyrwe or Gyrwas."

MALTBY.

Maltebi (D.B., 117, 118, 212 [1086]).

Malteby (K.I., 2, 8, 232 [1285–1316]).

Malteby (C.C.R., iii., 451 [1322]).

Maltby derives its name from the old Danish personal name Malti, Malte, recorded by Nielsen in his *Olddanske Personnavne,* and appearing in an eleventh century charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 806). The meaning of Maltby is therefore "Malte's farm," or "Malte's village." There is a Maltby in Lincolnshire and a Mautheville (earlier *Malteville*) in Normandy.

MANNINGHAM.

Maynyngham (K.I., 227, 361 [1285–1316]).

Hen. de Mayningham (C.C., 63 [1304]).

Manyngham (C.B.K., 191 [1342]).

Roger de Mayninggam (C.C., 96 [1344]).

Manyngham (P.T. [1379]).

Manningham presents the same difficulty as Manston (*q.v.*); there are two forms of the name preserved in early records, *Mayningham* and *Manyngham*, which correspond to the two forms of Manston in Domesday Book—*Mainestun* and *Manestun*. Manning is the patronymic of the personal name Mann or Man, which is commonly met with in O.E. records, and the meaning of Manningham (O.E. *Manningaham*) is "the home of the family of Mann or Man." But the form *Mayningham* appears to go back to O.E. *Mægeningaham* = the enclosure of the family of Mægen, where Mægen is the contracted form of Mægenhard, Mægenhere, or Mægenwald. All of these names are met with in O.E. records, and Mægenhard is the modern English name Maynard; *cf.* the Danish place-name Menstrup, which Nielsen (*op. cit.*, p. 66) interprets as "the thorpe or village of Meghinharth." Mr. C. J. Battersby is of the opinion that the form *Mayningham* is simply an Anglo-French spelling of *Maningham*, the *ay* or *ai* being identical with the development of *a* into *ai* before intervocalic *n* in the French words *vain, laine*, etc., from Latin *vanum, lanam*. I do not hold this view myself, but it is worth recording.

MANSTON.

Manestun, Mainestune (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Manston (K.I., 35, 208 [1285–1316]).

Manston (C.B.K., 349 [n.d.]).

An explanation of the two forms *Maneston* and *Mainestune* is given under Manningham (*q.v.*). Manston means "the enclosure of a person called Mann" (O.E. *Mannestun*), or, less probably, of "a person called Mægen, Mægenhard, Mægenhere, or Mægenwald" (O.E. *Mægenestun*).

MARKENFIELD, or MARKINGFIELD.

Merchefeld (D.B., 132, 221 [1086]).

John de Merkenfeld (Y.L.S., 123 [1297]).

Merkyngfeld (C.C., 235 [1414]).

The form Markingfield brings this name into line with Markington (*q.v.*), and suggests the interpretation "the field of the sons of Mark," or "the field of the dwellers by the mark." But it is doubtful whether the form Markingfield is original. The forms *Merchefeld* and *Merkenfeld* are older than the *Merkyngfeld* of the Calverley Charters, and these point back to the O.E. personal name Mearcwine, and to *Mearcwinesfeld* = the field of Mearcwine, as the original form of the name.

MARKINGTON.

Merchintone, Merchinton (D.B., 41, 42, 223 [1086]).

Merchington, Merkynton (M.F., ii., pt. i., 9, 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Merkington, Markinton, Markenton (K.I., 212, 331, 388, 402 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Markington was probably *Mearcingtun*, or *Mearcingatun*, but the meaning is not quite certain. It may be (1) the enclosure of the sons of Mearc, Mearcwine, or Mearcwulf, or (2) the enclosure of the dwellers by the mark or boundary; with this use of the suffix *-ing*, *cf. Eoforwicingas* = the people of York (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 918). Note also the unidentified *Mearcyncg-seol* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1293).

MARR.

Marra, Marle (D.B., 67, 70, 120, 213 [1086]).

Mar (C.C.R., i., 146 [1232]).

Marre, Mare (K.I., 5, 366 [1285–1316]).

Marr probably goes back to O.E. *mere*, *mære* = sea, lake, pond, mere, but the form has probably been influenced by the O.N. cognate word *marr*, which is only used in the sense of 'the sea.' In the *Yorkshire Fines* (i., 139) we read of "a water called the Marre" near Sutton in Holderness.

MARSTON (LONG).

Mersetone, Merstone (D.B., 176, 219 [1086]).

Merston (C.C.R., ii., 266 [1257–1300]).

Mereston, Merston (K.I., 28, 221, 290 [1285–1316]).

Marston (Y.F., iii., 87 [1587]).

Marston is a common place-name in many parts of England. In the Index to Kemble's *Codex* we find *Merstun* (= Marston, Glos.), *Merston* (= Marston, Warwick), *Mersctun* (= Murston, Kent), and *Merseham* (= Mersham, Kent). The probability is that in each of these place-names the first element is O.E. *mersc* = a marsh, swamp, and that the meaning of Marston is "the enclosure by the swamp," or "the swampy enclosure." With the loss of the final *c* of O.E. *mersc*, *cf.* the Scottish word *merse* = a marsh, which is also from O.E. *mersc*, and see Farsley.

MARTON (EAST and WEST).

Merton (C.C.R., ii., 308 [1285]).

Martun (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Marton (K.I., 14, 192, 356 [1285–1316]).

MARTON (near Boroughbridge).

Martone (D.B., 181, 220 [1086]).

The West-Riding Martons are developed out of O.E. *mere* = a mere, pond, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure; but, as in the place-name Marr (*q.v.*), the O.N. *marr* = the sea, has probably influenced the D.B. spelling.

MELSIS.

Chelchis, Cheldis (D.B., 133, 162 [1086]).

It is impossible that the D.B. forms *Chelchis* or *Cheldis* should have developed naturally into Melsis; and, in the absence of variant spellings of the name, its derivation cannot be attempted.

MELTHAM.

Meltha' (D.B., 112, 217 [1086]).

Meltham (Y.L.S., 96 [1297]).

Meltham (P.T. [1379]).

Muletham (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

The form *Muletham* is without support, and must, I think, be set aside. It may well be that Meltham is connected with the O.E. verb *meltan* = to melt, and that the idea underlying the name is that of a piece of enclosed ground (O.E. *hamm, homm*), in which ore was smelted and metal instruments made. Or we may connect the name with O.N. *melta* = to malt, and associate Meltham with the processes of brewing.

MELTON-ON-THE-HILL.

Medeltone, Middeltun, Mideltone (D.B., 119, 186, 213 [1086]).

Methylton (Y.I., i., 33 [1252]).

Melton, Melton-le-Heyg (K.I., 3, 9, 10, 233 [1285–1316]).

Hegh Melton (P.T. [1379]).

Melton super montem (V.E., 52 [1535]).

The *Metheltun* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1339) is probably Melton Mowbray, but the spellings *Methylton* and *Medeltone* given above show clearly that the Yorkshire Melton goes back to the same form. The meaning is "the middle enclosure." The first element is not O.E. *middel*, but the cognate O.N. form *methal*. The D.B. spellings *Mideltone* and *Middeltun* seem to indicate that the name was originally O.E. *Middeltun*, and that it subsequently became Scandinavianised to *Methaltun, Methylton*, and finally Melton. The modern forms of O.E. *Middeltun* are Middleton and Milton.

MENSTON.

Mensinctun (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Mensington, Mensyngton, Menston (K.I., 37, 209, 347 [1285–1316]).

Mensington alias Menston (Y.F., i., 353 [1568]).

Mersintone (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

The D.B. form *Mersinton* is clearly inaccurate, and the *Mensinctun* of Birch's Charter probably goes back to an earlier *Mensingatun* = the enclosure of the Mensings. But who were the Mensings? There is no such O.E. personal name as Mans, Mansa, or Mensa recorded by Searle, and there is no O.E. word with which it can readily be connected. On the other hand, the Old High German personal names Manso, Mantio, Mencio are frequently found, and from them are derived the modern German names Manz, Mense, Mentz, and Mentze. May we suppose that Mensington means the enclosure of the family or household of Manso, who did not come with the rest of the Anglian tribes from North Germany, but was a wanderer from regions farther to the south?

METHLEY.

Medelai (D.B., 110, 217 [1086]).

Everard de Medelay (P.C., 140 [1220]).

Jacob de Medeley (P.C., 166, 174 [1235]).

Metheley (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

The fact that Methley has for its termination O.E. *léah* makes it probable that the name goes back to O.E. (*on thém*) *middelan léage* = in the middle lea. But at an early period the O.E. *middel* has been replaced by the O.N. cognate form *methal*, and it is from this form that the modern Methley has descended. See Melton-on-the-hill.

MEXBOROUGH.

Mechesburg (D.B., 118, 213 [1086]).

Mekesburg (R.A.G., 155 [1267]).

Mekesburg (K.I., 2, 12, 365 [1285–1316]).

In a charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1151) mention is made of an unidentified *Meocesdun*, and it is probable that Mexborough goes back, through M.E. *Mekesburg*, to O.E. *Meocesburh*. The first element is probably a personal name Meoc, which may well be a nickname. The adjective *meek* appears as *méoc* in the early Middle English poem, *Ormulum*, and, though usually derived from the O.N.

mjúkr (= soft, meek), it is possible that an O.E. adjective *méoc* existed, though it is not recorded in O.E. literature. It may be cognate with the O.N. *mjúkr*, or derived from it in the O.E. period. Mexborough may therefore be "the fortress or manor-house of Meoc—the meek man." Nielsen records Miuk as a personal name in his *Olddanske Personnavne*.

MICKLEFIELD.

On miclan felda (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972]).

Mickelfeld, Mikelfeld, Mikelfeude (K.I., 48, 213, 284, 345 [1285–1316]).

Birch's Charter gives us the O.E. form of Micklefield—*on miclan felda* = in the great field.

MICKLETHWAITE.

Muceltuit, Muceltuoit (D.B., 171, 211 [1086]).

Walt. de Mikelthayd (Y.I., i., 66 [1259]).

The first element in Micklethwaite is either O.E. *micel* (see Micklefield) or O.N. *mikill* = great. The D.B. form with *u*—*Muceltuit*—is the Norman-French rendering of O.E. *mycel*, another form of *micel*. The termination is O.N. *thveit* = cleared land. The meaning of Micklethwaite is accordingly "the great clearing," and points to an extensive conversion of forest or brushwood into agricultural land.

MIDDLETHORPE.

Badetorp, Badetorpes (D.B., 27, 187, 193 [1086]).

Thorp Atun, Thorp Malteby, Thorp juxta Ebor, Middelthorp (K.I., 23, 105, 289, 343 [1285–1316]).

Midelthorp (C.B.S., i., 115, 123 [1297]).

Middlethorpe—the middle hamlet, the middle village—has been known by different names at different times. *Badetorp* evidently goes back to an earlier *Baddanthorp* = the hamlet of Badda; *cf.* *Baddanby* (K.C.D., 233, 297) = Badby (Northants.). For the form Thorp Malteby, see Maltby.

MIDDLETON (par. Rothwell).

Middelton, Midelton, Midylton (K.I., 30, 225, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

Middelton (Y.D., 115 [1310]).

Mildentone, Mildetone (D.B., 113, 218 [1086]).

MIDDLETON (par. Ilkley).

Middeltune, Mideltun (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Meddilton, Middelton, Midleton (K.I., 44, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

There are many Middletons in Yorkshire, and the meaning of them all is the same—the middle enclosure. The O.E. form would be *on thám middelan túne* = in the middle enclosure. The D.B. spelling *Mildentone* is due to the metathesis of the *d* and *l*.

MIDDOP.

Midehop (C.C.R., ii., 353 [1290]).

Midehop, Midhopp (K.I., 18, 199, 354 [1285–1316]).

Mithope (D.B., 135 [1086]).

The D.B. form *Mithope* is misleading, and the probability is that Middop goes back through M.E. *Midehop* to O.E. *Middanhop* = the middle valley. On the exact meaning of the word *hope* (O.E. *hop*) see Introduction, p. xl.

MIDGLEY.

Miggeley (A.G.R., 65 [1234]).

Miggeleye (C.C.R., ii., 476 [1299]).

Miggeley (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Micleie (D.B., 13 [1086]).

There is, I think, little doubt that the name Midgley is formed out of the two words 'midge' and 'lea,' the O.E. forms of which are *mycg* or *mycge* and *léah*. The idea that a meadow should owe its name to the fact that it was infested with midges or gnats may seem fanciful, but we find the same thing in the Icelandic *Landnamabok*, where the O.N. *my* (= a midge) appears in the place-names *Myvatn* (= Midge-water) and *Mydalr* (= Midge-dale); see *Landnamabok*, iii., 18, and iv., 11, and *cf. Ceaforleah* (B.C.S., 622), which means "the beetle (cock-chafer) lea."

MILFORD (NORTH).

Mileford, Mileforde (D.B., 101, 204, 212 [1086]).

Milford (C.B.S., i., 292 [1109]).

Meleford (P.R., ix., 47 [1166]).

North Milford, Milleford (K.I., 215, 285, 345 [1285–1316]).

Milford means "the ford by the mill," and the O.E. form would be *Mylenford*. The spelling *Meleford* of the Pipe Roll shows the substitution of the Kentish *e* for *y* or *i*.

MINSKIP.

Minescip (D.B., 28, 221 [1086]).

Gamel de Menescipa (P.R., ix., 40 [1166]).

Alsi de Menscipa (P.R., ix., 40 [1166]).

Mineskipe (C.I.P.M., i., 159 [1300]).

Mynskypp (P.T. [1379]).

Manskip (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

This is a difficult name, and the following suggestions as to its etymology must be regarded as merely tentative. The situation of Minskip on low-lying ground apparently forbids the association of the termination of Minskip with M.E. *kip* = a hill, peak, which is found in Kippax (*q.v.*). It may be that the termination is O.N. *kippi* = a sheaf, and that the name goes back to O.N. *Minniskippi* = a memorial sheaf, formed in the same way as O.N. *minnishorn* and *minnisveig* = a memorial horn, a memorial cup, a toast cup, from O.N. *minni* = memory. Or it may be that the first element is the O.N. nickname *Menni*, which is derived from O.N. *mannr*, later *mathr* = a man, and is found as a personal name in the *Viga-Glums-Saga*. In this case, we may regard the termination as possibly O.N. *skipti* = a division, share, and interpret Minskip as "the division of land allotted to a certain man called Menni." O.N. *skipti* would develop normally into O.E. *scift*, but if the *t* were lost at an early period, the change from *p* to *f* would not take place. Mr. C. J. Battersby is disposed to associate the termination in Minskip with O.E. *scip*, *scyp* = a clout, patch, and suggests that the original meaning of *scip*, *scyp*, was 'a piece of anything'; hence, "Menni's piece (of land)."

MIRFIELD.

Mirefeld, Mirefelt (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Mirefeld (A.G.R., 96 [1245]).

Mirfeld, Myrfeld (K.I., 30, 225, 280 [1285–1316]).

Mirfield, as the older forms show, is from O.N. *mýrr*, M.E. *mire* = a bog, marsh, and O.E. *feld* = a field. The meaning is therefore "the marshy field."

MITTON (GREAT).

Mitune (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Miton (A.G.R., 89 [1241]).

Mitton (K.I., 17, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Mitton (P.T. [1379]).

Great Mitton, situated at the confluence of the Ribble and the Hodder, owes its name to the rare O.E. word *mýthe, gemýthe* = the mouth of a river, confluence of two streams. The O.E. form of Mitton would accordingly be *Mythetun*, and in the weakened spelling *Myttun*—an intermediate form between *Mythetun* and *Mitton*—it appears three times in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 249, 514, 751). The meaning of Mitton is accordingly "the enclosure at the mouth of a river, or at the confluence of two streams," and with it may be compared Myton-on-Swale, at the confluence of the Swale and Ure, and Mitford in Northumberland, at the confluence of the Font and Wansbeck. The O.E. *mýthe, gemýthe* is cognate with the O.N. *minni* (see Airmyn), both forms being developed out of an original *munthjo*, the root of which also appears in O.E. *múth* = mouth.

MONKTON (BISHOP).

Monuchetone (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Munketon (C.C.R., ii., 481 [1300]).

Munketon, Munketon juxta Rypon (K.I., 331, 400, 414 [1285–1316]).

MONKTON (NUN).

Monuchetone, Monechetone (D.B., 177, 207 [1086]).

Monketon, Munketon, Nune Munketon (K.I., 406, 206, 295 [1285–1316]).

Monkton goes back to O.E. *Munucatun* = the enclosure of the monks, from O.E. *munuc* = a monk. The name points to the establishment of monasteries at Bishop Monkton and Nun Monkton during the Anglo-Saxon period. At Nun Monkton, in the place of the original settlement of monks, there was established, in the reign of Stephen, a house of Benedictine nuns. Bishop Monkton is so called because the Archbishop of York was lord of the manor.

MORLEY.

Morelei, Moreleia (D.B., 113, 218 [1086]).

Morlay (C.C.R., ii., 235 [1280]).

Morlay, Morley (K.I., 30, 227, 280 [1285–1316]).

Morley in Derbyshire appears in two charters of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 710, 1298) as *Morleah*, and there can be no doubt that this is the original form of the Yorkshire Morley. The O.E. *mór* is used somewhat loosely to indicate 'a swamp,' 'a piece of uncultivated land,' 'a moor'; and the idea of a moor as a swampy place is preserved in the modern English 'moorhen'; *cf.* O.E. *mórpytt* = a marshy pool, *mórméd* = a marshy meadow. The probable meaning of Morley is therefore "the marshy lea."

MORTON (par. Bingley).

Mortun (D.B., 26, 210 [1086]).

Morton (C.C.R., ii., 249 [1281]).

Morton (K.I., 31, 207 [1285–1316]).

This is a common English place-name, formed out of O.E. *mór* = swamp, moor, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure, the meaning being "the swampy enclosure," or "the moorland enclosure" (see Morley). Morton is the true development of O.E. *Mórtún*, with shortening of *ó* before two consonants, and of *ú* in the unaccented syllable; Moortown is a new formation.

MULWITH.

Mulewath (A.G.R., 91 [1241]).

Mulwath, Mouwath (K.I., 212, 387 [1285–1316]).

Mulwath (V.E., 252 [1535]).

In this word the termination *-with* from O.N. *vithr* = a wood, tree, has taken the place of the older *wath* = O.N. *vath*, a ford. The first element in Mulwith is probably the O.N. *múli* = a crag, which appears in the place-names of the Icelandic *Landnamabok*, *e.g.*, *Mulafjall*, *Mulasveit*, and under the form 'Mull' (Mull of Galloway) is common in Scotland. The meaning of Mulwith is therefore "the ford by the crag." The O.N. *múli* appears again in the place-names Mulgrave and Mowthorpe (D.B. *Muletorp*), and in the famous name Mowbray. It is also possible that in Mulwith the first element is the O.N. personal name Muli.

NAPPA.

Naphay (A.G.R., 10 [1226]).

Nappay (C.I.P.M., i., 263 [1315]).

Nappay, Nappa (K.I., 18, 197, 384 [1285–1316]).

Napars (D.B., 135 [1086]).

This is a difficult name, and the D.B. form *Napars* does not seem very helpful. It is probable that the *Naphay* of Archbishop Gray's Register is the most primitive of the forms given above, and I think it at least possible that the constituent elements of *Naphay* are O.E. *nép* from Lat. *napus* = a turnip, and O.E. *hæg*, *haga* = an enclosure. The long vowel in *nép* would undergo shortening before the two consonants, and the resultant M.E. form would be *Naphay*, later *Nappay*. If this derivation of Nappa is correct, the meaning of the name is "the turnip field."

NESFIELD.

Nescefeld (C.C.R., ii., 250 [1281]).

Nescefeld, Nessefeld, Nesefeld (K.I., 44, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

Hen. de Nessefeld (C.C. 232 [1402]).

Nacefeld (D.B., 132, 222 [1086]).

It is probable that *Nescefeld* is the true M.E. form of Nesfield, in which the first element is O.E. *hnesce*, *hnæsce* = soft, tender, nesh. The word 'nesh' is used to-day in many parts of England in reference to grass which is young and juicy, and the probable meaning of Nesfield is therefore "a field of rich young grass" (O.E. *se hnesca feld*).

NEWBY (par. Gisburn).

Neuby (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

NEWBY (par. Ripon).

Neuweby, Neuby, Newby (K.I., 212, 331, 400, 405 [1285–1316]).

Neuby (R.A.G., 16 [1295]).

This is a common name in the north of England, the meaning being "the new village," or "the new settlement." The O.E. forms of the word 'new' are *néowe*, *níewe*, *níwe*.

NEWHALL (par. Wath).

Niwehalle, Neuhalla (D.B., 118, 213 [1086]).

Newhala, Newhale (C.B.K., 170, 171 [n.d.]).

Neuhalle, Newhall (K.I., 2, 12, 283 [1285–1316]).

NEWHALL (par. Harewood).

Niuuehale (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

In Newhall the termination may be O.E. *hall*, *heall* = a hall, manor-house, or O.E. *halh*, *healh* = a corner. The meaning is accordingly "the new hall," or "the newly enclosed corner of land."

NEWLAND.

Neuland (K.I., 70, 316 [1285–1316]).

Newland (C.B. map [1789]).

The meaning of Newland is obvious—"a piece of land newly cleared and made fit for the growing of crops."

NEWSAM (TEMPLE).

Neuhusu' (D.B., 98, 210 [1086]).

Neusum, Neusom (K.I., 38, 210, 348 [1285–1316]).

Neusome (P.C., 259 [n.d.]).

The Domesday Book spelling makes it clear that Newsam goes back to O.E. *æt thém néowum húsum* = at the new houses. The prefix Temple, as in many other English place-names, indicates a settlement there of the Knights Templars.

NEWSHOLME (par. Keighley).

Neuhuse (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Neusum (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Neusum, Neusom (K.I., 16, 189, 190 [1285–1316]).

NEWSHOLME (p. Gisburn).

Neuhuse (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Neusom (K.I., 18, 298 [1285–1316]).

Neusom (P.T. [1379]).

The above spellings show that the form Newsholme, with the termination 'holme' = a piece of land surrounded by streams, is a corruption of *Newsome* or *Neusum*. The original termination was *-husum*, and the name is identical with Newsam (Temple) above.

NEWTON (BANK).

Neutune, Neutone (D.B., 95, 196 [1086]).

Neuton in Cravene (Y.I., i., 86 [1260]).

Neuton (K.I., 15, 196, 357 [1285–1316]).

NEWTON-ON-HODDER.

Neutone (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Neuton, Neuton in Bogheland (K.I., 16, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

NEWTON KYME.

Neuueton, Niuueton, Neuton (D.B., 66, 178, 204, 211 [1086]).

Neuton (Y.I., i., 86 [1260]).

Neuton Kymbe, Neuton Kyme (K.I., 49, 345 [1285–1316]).

NEWTON-WILLOWS.

Neuton (D.B., 87, 237 [1086]).

Neuton (Y.I., i., 115 [1270]).

Neuton Walays, Newton Waleys (K.I., 50, 214, 345 [1285–1316]).

This is a common name all over England, and appears again and again in Kemble's *Codex* under the form *Niwantun*. The constituent parts are O.E. *néowe, níewe, níwe* = new, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure, and the full form in O.E. would be *æt thém néowan túne* = at the new enclosure. Newton Kyme owes its distinguishing name to the family of Kymbe, Kimbe, or Kyme, who owned the manor of Newton Kyme in Plantagenet times. Frequent mention is made of Philip de Kyme and other members of the family in Kirkby's Inquest. Newton-Willows is a popular corruption of Newton Walays or Waleys, the distinguishing name being that of the Waleys or Walays family. See Burgh Waleys.

NIDD.

Nith, Nit (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Nid (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Nidd, Nidde, Nid, Nyd (K.I., 212, 295, 331, 387 [1285–1316]).

The village of Nidd, or Nidd-Bridge, evidently takes its name from that of the river by which it is situated. As a river-name, Nidd is probably identical with the Scottish Nith.

NORMANTON.

Normantone, Normatune, Normetune (D.B., 13, 27, 217 [1086]).

Normanton (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Normantoun (C.C., 131 [1315]).

Normanton probably owes its name, not to the Norman-French conquerors of England, but to their kinsmen, the Northmen or Scandinavians, who had settled in Yorkshire two centuries before the Norman Conquest. The original form was accordingly *Northmannatun* = the enclosure of the Northmen; *cf.* Normanby (Lincs.), which is spelt *Normanby* in a charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 984).

NORTON (par. Campsall).

Nortone (D.B., 101, 215 [1086]).

Norton (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Norton would be *Northtun*, which means "the northern enclosure." Various Nortons appear in Kemble's *Codex* under the form *Northtun*.

NOSTELL.

Osele (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Noslay (C.C.R., i., 44 [1227]).

Nostle (C.C.R., i., 79 [1228]).

Nostell (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1280]).

This is a difficult name, and the first point to notice is that the D.B. spelling, twice recorded, is *Osele*. It is, I think, improbable that the D.B. scribes would have omitted the initial *n*, and I venture to suggest that the *n* in the later spellings of the name has taken its origin from the preceeding preposition *on ;* thus *on Osele* has become *Nosele* or *Noslay ; cf.* Napleton (Worcs.), which has developed out of *on Appleton*. If we accept this, we may connect Nostell with the *Oslan mere* and *Oslan wyrth*, mentioned in Birch's charters (B.C.S., 1111, 764), and associate the name with O.E. *ósle* = ousel, blackbird. Further, on the analogy of Adel and Idle (*q.v.*), we may suppose that the original form was *on Osleleáh*, or *on Oslanleah*, which is supported by the spelling *Noslay*, and means "in the blackbird's lea," or, more probably, "in the lea of a man nicknamed Osle or Blackbird." It is also possible, as Mr. C. J. Battersby points out to me, that the form *Oslanleah* may contain as its first element a contracted form of Oswulf, Oswald, or one of the other Os- compounds, and it may even be that Nostell owes its name to the Northumbrian saint-king Oswald, to whom the Augustinian priory at Nostell was dedicated in the twelfth century. The *t* in the spellings *Nostle* and *Nostell* is a glide-sound introduced between the *s* and the *l*.

NOTTON.

Notone, Nortone (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Notton (C.C.R., ii., 7 [1258]).

Notton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The D.B. spelling *Nortone* is without support and may be disregarded. The first element in the name may be O.E. *hnutu* or O.N. *hnot*, M.E. *nute*, *note*, = a nut, nut-tree. This would give "the enclosure by the nut-tree" as the meaning of Notton ; *cf.* Nuthurst (Warwick), which appears as *Hnuthyrst* in K.C.D. (Nos. 55, 303). But it is also possible that Notton goes back to an original *Hnottun*, where the first element is O.E. *hnot* = bald, close-cut ; *cf. To thon hnottan scale* = to the pollard willow (K.C.D., 1102). Thus interpreted, the meaning of Notton may be "the closely mown field."

NUNWICK.

Nonneuuic (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Nunnewyke (Y.I., ii., 99 [1290]).

Nunnewyk, Nunewyk, Nunwik (K.I., 212, 331, 402 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Nunwick would be *Nunnenawic* = the dwelling-place of the nuns. *Nunnena* is the gen. plur. of O.E. *nunne* = a nun; *cf.* *Nunnena beorh* (K.C.D., 623) = Nunborough (Worcs.).

OAKWORTH.

Acurde (D.B., 29, 162 [1086]).

Akeworthe (Y.I., i., 263 [1255]).

Ackeworth, Hakewrith (K.I., 16, 189, 190 [1285–1316]).

Okeworth (Y.F., iii., 41 [1585]).

There is some confusion in the M.E. spellings of Oakworth, but there can be little doubt that the O.E. form was *Acworth*, *Acwurth* = the dwelling-place by the oak-tree (O.E. *ác*); *cf.* Oakover (Staffs.), which appears as *Acofre* in K.C.D. (No. 710), and Ockley (Surrey), which is spelt *Acleah* in K.C.D. (No. 186).

OGLETHORPE.

Ocelestorp, Oglestorp, Oglestun (D.B., 66, 178, 204, 212 [1086]).

Okelesthorp (C.C.R., ii., 235 [1280]).

Okelesthorp, Oclesthorp (K.I., 50, 214, 285 [1285–1316]).

Ogeltorp (T. de N. 363 [13th cent.]).

The first element here is, in all probability, the O.E. personal name Acwulf, Aculf, Acolf, which appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae* and in Domesday Book; also in the O.E. place-name *Aculfesdene* (K.C.D., No. 1292). The *a* in Aculf was long, and has become long *o* in modern English in the same way that O.E. *ác* has become *oak*. Agglethorp in the North Riding (D.B. *Aculestorp*) is the same name, but here the O.E. *á*, instead of becoming *ó*, has been shortened to *a*, probably because in this word the *w* in Acwulf was at first preserved, whereas in Oglethorpe it disappeared very early; *cf.* Ackworth and Oakworth.

ONESACRE.

Anesacre (D.B., 27 [1086]).

Onesacre probably goes back through the D.B. form *Anesacre* to O.E. *Anesæcer*, and the constitutional elements are O.E. *ánes* gen. sing., of *án* = one, and O.E. *æcer* = a field. The probable meaning is "one man's field"—a field which a single man could cultivate; *cf.* Onehouse (Suffolk) and Onecote (Staffs.). Mr. C. J. Battersby draws my attention to An and Ani as O.N. personal names recorded in the *Landnamabok*, and interprets Onesacre as "the field of An or Ani."

ORGRAVE.

Nortgrave (D.B., 118 [1086]).

Rob. de Orgrave (P.T. [1379]).

Orgrave, Orgrayve (Y.F., i., 86, 171, 193 [16th cent.]).

The difficulty here lies in determining whether the Domesday spelling of this name is correct. If it is, we must assume that the initial *n* has been lost in somewhat the same way that it is lost in the word *apron* from earlier *napron*. Assuming such to be the case, Orgrave means "the north grove of trees" (O.E. *gráf*) or "the north grave or trench" (O.E. *græf*). If, however, we accept Orgrave as an independent form, we may connect it either with (1) O.E. *óra* = border, edge, margin, or (2) O.E. *óra* = ore, metal in an unreduced state, or (3) O.E. *óre* = a mine; *cf.* Orton (Herts.), which appears as *Ortun* in K.C.D. (No. 950). It is therefore possible that Orgrave means "a trench or excavation for mining purposes," or "a trench—or grove of trees—on the borders of some territory."

OSSETT.

Osleset (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Oselset (W.C.R., i., 130 [1275]).

Ossete (W.C.R., i., 129, 197, 204 [1275]).

Osset (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

The forms *Osleset*, *Oselset*, of Domesday Book and the Wakefield Court Rolls, indicate that the first element in Ossett is a personal name. It may be the O.E. nickname Osle = a blackbird (see Nostell), or it may be Oswulf, Oswald, Oslaf, Oslac, or Oshelm, all of which were fairly common names in O.E. times. The name Oswulf is found under the forms Osulf and Osul several times in the list of landholders in the Yorkshire Domesday Book. In the Index to Kemble's *Codex* we find *Oswaldeshlaw* = (Oswaldslow, Worcs.), and the unidentified *Osulfeslea*, *Oswaldes berh*, *Oslaces lea*. The termination is either O.E. *set* = a seat, camp, entrenchment, or O.E. *gesete* = dwelling, house, both of which are connected with O.E. *sittan* = to sit, and the meaning of the whole is "the seat or dwelling-place of Osle, Oswulf, Oswald, Oslaf, or Oslac."

OTLEY.

Ottanlege (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Otelai, Othelai (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Ottelaie, Ottelay, Otteley (K.I., 37, 209, 288, etc. [1285–1316]).

The spelling of Otley in Birch's charter of the year 972 brings us very near to its original form—*Ottanleah*, dative *Ottanleage*, = the lea of Otta. Otta is a fairly common O.E. personal name, and occurs in the Yorkshire portion of Domesday Book.

OTTERBURN.

Otreburne (D.B., 30, 197, 224 [1086]).

Oterburn, Otterburn (K.I., 15, 191, 356 [1285–1316]).

Otreburne (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

The meaning of the name is, of course, "the otter stream," and the O.E. form would be *Otorburne* or *Oterburne*. Otterbourne (Hants.) appears as *Oterburne* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 609, 642).

OUSEBURN.

Useburne (D.B., 27, 220 [1086]).

Usebruna (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Usebrunna (P.R., ix., 43 [1166]).

Useburn (K.I., 211, 353 [1285–1316]).

Ouseburn apparently takes its name from the small burn or stream which flows between Great and Little Ouseburn on its way to the Ouse. The termination *burn* is the O.E. *burne* = a burn, tributary stream, but the Pipe Roll forms *Usebruna*, *Usebrunna*, point to the cognate O.N. form *brunnr*.

OUSTON, or OWSTON.

Wlsington, Wolsington, Wlsintone, Ulsitone, Wolston (Y.I., i., 85, 174 [1260]).

Wulsyngton, Wlsyngton, Wlsington (K.I., 25, 222, 291 [1285–1316]).

Ulsitone, Wlsintone (D.B., 131, 207, 219 [1086]).

Ouston (A.G.R., 271 [1254]).

Ouston probably owes its name to the O.E. personal name Wulfsige, which is of frequent occurrence in O.E. charters, etc. Already in O.E. times we find it contracted to Wulsie, Ulsi, while the more or less Latinised form Wulsinus and Wulsin are recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*. The change from Wulfsige or Wulsie to Ulsi, with the dropping of the initial *w*, is probably due to Scandinavian influence. The disappearance of initial *w* before *u* or *o* took place in the O.N. dialects already in the so-called Viking age, *i.e.*, before 1050, and the form *Ulsi* appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. Subsequently, the *ul* of Ulsi has become *ou*, *ow* ; *cf. Mowthorpe*, from earlier *Mulethorp*. The line of descent of this place-name may be represented somewhat as follows : *Wulfsigestun* > *Wulsiestun* > *Ulsistun* > *Ulsitun* > *Ouston* or *Owston*. In the case of Woolstone (Bucks.), which is spelt *Wlsiestone* in Domesday Book, Scandinavian influence has not been felt ; the initial *w* has been retained and the *l* has not been vocalised. The forms *Wylsington*, *Wolsington*, show the patronymic *-ing*, but this is probably not original, and may have arisen out of the two forms Wulsige and Wulsin.

OVENDEN.

Hugh de Ovenden (W.C.R., i., 104 [1275]).

John de Ovenden (W.C.R., i., 125 [1275]).

Ovendene (Y.I., i., 103 [1266]).

Ovesden (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

It is possible that the first element in this name is O.E. *ufan* = above, or O.E. *ufenan*, *ofenan* = from above. Combined with the O.E. *denu* = a valley, this would give "the upper valley" as the meaning of Ovenden.

OWRAM (NORTH).

Ufrun (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Adam de Ouerum (W.C.R., i., 81 [1274]).

Adam de Northouerum (W.C.R., i., 112 [1275]).

North Ourome (Y.D., 129 [1384]).

OWRAM (SOUTH).

Overe, Oure (D.B., 116, 218 [1086]).

Ourem, Ourum, Southouerton (K.I., 30, 224, 279, 361 [1285–1316]).

Alice de Southorum (W.C.R., i., 223 [1286]).

South Ourom (P.T., 1379]).

I am disposed to trace back the name Owram through *Ufrun* and *Ouerum* to O.E. *Oferum*, the dative plural of O.E. *ófer* = border, margin, edge, river-bank. The meaning of Owram is accordingly "on the borders"—probably the border-line of some territory. The O.E. word *ófer* is found as the second element in a considerable number of O.E. place-names, and exists to-day as a distinct name—Over—in Cambridge, Cheshire, and Gloucestershire, while Overton (= the enclosure by the border) is found in Yorkshire and in many other parts of England.

OWSTON.

Austun, Austhun (D.B., 102, 215 [1086]).

Auston (P.T. [1379]).

Ouston (C.Cl.R., i., 377 [1278]).

Ouston (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Owston is probably O.N. *austr* = east, and Owston accordingly means "the eastern enclosure." The change from O.N. *au* to M.E. *ou*, *ow* is normal.

OXENHOPE.

Oxenhop (K.I., 227 [1285–1316]).

Adam de Oxenhope, Oxinhope (C.C., 87, 88 [circ. 1308]).

Oxenhope goes back to O.E. *Oxnahop* = the enclosure of the oxen, the cattle farm ; *oxna* is the gen. plur. of *oxa* = an ox.

OXSPRING.

Ospring, Osprinc (D.B., 110, 216 [1086]).

Ospring (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Oxpryng (P.T. [1379]).

The spellings *Oxpryng* and *Ospring* probably go back to O.E. *Oxnaspring* = the spring of water where the oxen drink. Ospringe in Kent is the same name.

OXTON.

Oxetone, Ositone, Ossetone (D.B., 175, 206, 219 [1086]).

Oxeton (Y.I., ii., 19 [1284]).

Oxton, Hoxton (K.I., 24, 219, 290 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Oxton was probably *Oxnatun* or *Oxatun* = the enclosure of the oxen ; *cf.* Oxenhope and Oxspring.

PAINLEY.

Paghenale, Padehale (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

Rob. de Panely (K.I., 49 [1285]).

Elias de Pathenhale (Y.D., 130 [1281]).

Pathenale (Y.D., 130 [1281]).

Pathenall, Patenall (K.I., 17, 198, 355 [1285–1316]).

Pathenale (P.T. [1379]).

Painley, which is now the name of a single farm-house in the parish of Gisburn, presents some difficulty. The fact is that the modern form goes back through D.B. *Pagenale* to O.E. *Pæganleah* = the meadow of a man called Pæga. This name is recorded by Searle, while the name Pagen appears in Domesday Book. Bede, again, mentions a *Pægnalæch* in his History, generally identified with Finchall in Durham.

There still remain for discussion the forms, *Padehale, Pathenhale*, and *Pathenall*. These seem to point back to O.E. *Paddanhalh*, *Padanhalh* = the corner of land of Padda, Pada, or Peada ; but it is probable that the form *Pathenale* has developed out of *Paghenale* with the substitution of *th* for *gh* as in Keighley (*q.v.*), and that all

the above spellings of Painley go back to an original *Paganleah* or *Pæganleah*, or *Pæganhalh*. Finally, it should be noticed that the phonological development of *Pathenall* is towards Pannal, the name of a village near Harrogate. The following pedigree will make the matter clear :—

Paganleah, Pæganleah, Pæganhalh > Payenley < Painley.

Pathenhale < Pathenal < Pannal.

PALLETHORPE.

Torp (D.B., 71, 131 [1086]).

Paddocthorp (K.I., 25, 222 [1285–1316]).

Paddocthorpe (C.I.P.M., i., 263 [1315]).

Palethorpe (Y.F., iii., 151 [1591]).

I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. J. Battersby for a solution of the difficulty of reconciling the two forms *Paddocthorpe* and *Pallcthorpe*. The word ' paddock ' is generally supposed to be a phonetic alteration of the form ' parrock,' an intermediate form between Mod. E. ' park ' and O.E. *pearruc*, *parruc* (see Skeat, *Etymol. Dic.*, ' paddock '). Mr. Battersby points out that a change from *Parrock* to *Pallock* is also possible, and he instances, as other examples of the same change, ' gillyflower ' from O.F. *giroflée*, ' mulberry ' from *morberry* (Latin *morus*), and ' Dolly ' from ' Dorothy.' Pallethorpe may therefore be a weakened form of *Pallockthorpe*, and both this form and the form *Paddocthorpe* may point back, therefore, to an original O.E. *Pearructhorp*, *i.e.*, " the village with a park adjoining it."

PARLINGTON.

Perlinctune, P'lintun, P'tilinctun, P'tilintun (D.B., 97, 98, 210 [1086]).

Perlyngton, Parlyngton (K.I., 38, 210, 288 [1285–1316]).

Parlington (C.B.K., 351 [n.d.]).

The original form of this name is somewhat uncertain. The spellings *Perlyngton* and *Perlinctun* point back to an O.E. *Perlingatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Perlo, a name which is found in Domesday Book. But the D.B. forms *P'tilinctun*, *P'tilintun*, which seem to point to an older *Pertilingtun* or *Pertilingatun*, if correct, present difficulties. The Old High German form of the O.E. personal name Beorhtwald is Perahtold, Perhtold, or Pertold, and it is possible that *Pertilingatun* is " the enclosure of the family of a High German settler called Pertold or Perahtold." Moreover, the simple form Perlo, though found in Domesday Book, is scarcely English either in its root or its termination, and it is possible that it is a contracted form of the O.H.G. name Pertilo or Perahtilo (see Förstemann).

PAYTHORNE.

Pathorn (K.I., 17, 202, 354 [1285–1316]).

Pathorn (Y.I., ii., 107 [1290]).

Pathorme, Pathorp (D.B., 135, 196 [1086]).

The form *Pathorp* of Domesday Book is without support, and the probability is that *Pathorn* is the true M.E. form. The etymology is uncertain, but the first element may be O.E. *pæth* = a path, which would give "the thorn-tree by the path" as the meaning of Paythorne (O.E. *Pæththorn*).

PENISTON.

Penegelston, Penegeston (A.G.R., 20, 26 [1228]).

Penigheston (Y.I., i., 279 [1226]).

Penigstone (R.W.W., 40 [1279–1285]).

Pengestone, Pengeston, Pangeston (D.B., 27, 108, 216 [1086]).

Penyeston (C.C.R., ii., 265 [1283]).

Peniston (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

There can be little doubt that the first element in Peniston is a personal name, though the form of the name is somewhat uncertain. The O.E. name Penda, borne by the famous Mercian king, enters into the formation of a number of compounds, *e.g.*, Pendhere, Pendgyth, Pendræd, Pendwine, and it is at least possible that the compound Pendgils underlies the form *Pengelston*, which is apparently the most primitive of the forms given above. The name Pendgils is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, but *gils* or *gisl* appears commonly in O.E. personal names, *e.g.*, Peohtgils, Ealdgils, Gislmær, Gislheard. If this surmise is correct, the original form of Peniston would be *Pendgilsestun* or *Pendgislestun* = the enclosure of Pendgils or Pendgisl, and the line of descent would be through *Penegelston*, *Pengeston*, and *Penyeston* to Peniston.

Mr. C. J. Battersby, disregarding the form *Penegelston*, is disposed to connect Peniston with Pennington, in Lancashire, and he thinks that Peniston goes back to an original *Penningestun* = the enclosure of Penning.

PICKBURN.

Picheburne (D.B., 68, 214 [1086]).

Picburne (Y.I., i., 200 [1279]).

Pickeburne, Pikeburne, Pykeburn, Pickburn (K.I., 6, 9, 231, 282, 359 [1285–1316]).

The medial *e* in the D.B. spelling of Pickburn makes it unlikely that the name is derived directly either from O.E. *pic* = pitch, or O.E. *pīc* = a point, pointed instrument, pike. It may, however, come from the O.E. adjective *picen* = pitchy, which would readily be applied to the waters of a stream (O.E. *burne*) which were of a black, pitchy colour.

PILLEY.

Pillei (D.B., 70, 216 [1086]).

Pilleia (C.C.R., i., 396 [1252]).

Pillaye (Y.F., ii., 35 [1573]).

The first element in this name is probably O.E. *pyll*, a variant of O.E. *pull* (= a pool), the meaning of which, as given in Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, is "a small creek." At the present day the word 'pill' is used in this sense only in the south-west of England, but its usage may once have been more general, both as to locality and meaning. The meaning of Pilley may therefore be "the meadow by the creek," or "the meadow with a small pool in it"; *cf.* Pilmoor in the North Riding.

PLUMPTON.

Nigel de Plumton (C.C., 45 [1190]).

Plumton, Plumpton (K.I., 45, 203, 293 [1285–1316]).

Plontone (D.B., 133, 161, 223 [1086]).

Plumpton is "the enclosure (O.E. *tún*) by the plum-tree (O.E. *plúme*)"; *cf.* Appleton. The medial *p* is a glide-sound introduced in the Middle English period between the *m* and the *t*; *cf.* Hampton, from earlier *Hamton*.

PONTEFRACT.

Ad Fracti-pontis aquam (Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* [1141]).

Pontemfractum (C.B.K., 103 [1201]).

In Pontefracto (P.C., 24, 26, *et passim* [from 1135]).

Pontefract, Ponteston (K.I., 5, 363, 411 [1285–1316]).

Pontffrayt (C.C., 188 [1374]).

Pountffrayt (C.B.K., 366 [n.d.]).

Pumfrayt (Walt. of Coventry, ii., 14 [1293 ?]).

(Richard Holmes quotes over 40 spellings of the name in his *Pontefract: Its Name, Lords, and Castle*, 1878.)

There can be no doubt that the name Pontefract is derived from the Latin *pontem fractum* = the broken bridge. Where the

bridge stood, and how it came to be broken, cannot now be accurately determined. Mr. Holmes, in his monograph, *Pontefract : Its Name, Lords, and Castle*, identifies it with the modern Bubwith Bridge, which spans a tributary of the Aire in the borough of Pontefract. *Pontfrayt*, *Pumfrayt*, and *Pomfret* are the Norman-French forms of the Latin *Pontem Fractum*, and seem to have been used interchangeably with the form *Pontefract*. The bestowal of such a name as *Pontem Fractum* upon a bridge, and then upon the town which grew up by the bridge, must have been the work of scholars, and we may associate the name Pontefract with the establishment of a priory of Cluniac monks there in early Norman times. The Norman-French forms of the name may be due to the monks, or to the Norman baron, Ilbert de Lacy, who built his castle there, and became lord of the honour of Pontefract, during the reign of William the Conqueror.

POOLE.

Pouele (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Serlo de Povilla (C.C., 6 [temp. Hen. II. or Ric. I.]).

Serlo de Pouele (C.B.K., 95 *n.* [n.d.]).

Pouel (C.B.K., 351 [n.d.]).

Pouel, Pouell, Pouill, Pole 37, 209, 288, 347, 400 [1285–1316]).

There can be little doubt that Poole derives its name from O.E. *pól* = a pool. But it is probable that such forms as *Pouele*, *Pouela*, and the Latinised *Povilla*, indicate that the O.E. form of the name was not simply *Pol*, but *Polleah* = the lea by the pool. For the loss of the termination *-léah*, see Adel and Idle.

POPPLETON (UPPER).

Popeltun (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Popletune, Popletone (D.B., 39, 176, 206, 219 [1086]).

Popilton, Popleton Superior (K.I., 29, 367 [1285–1316]).

POPPLETON (NETHER).

Popletone (D.B., 176, 206 [1086]).

Altera Popilton, Popleton Inferior (K.I., 29, 367 [1285–1316]).

The meaning of Poppleton is probably "the enclosure by the poplar-tree." The word *popul* = the poplar-tree, from the Lat. *populus*, occurs once in O.E. (see Kemble's *Codex*, No. 652), and is found in M.E. side by side with *popler*, *poplar*, from the Old French *poplier*. The word *popple*, meaning (1) corn-cockle, (2) the wild mustard, (3) the poppy, is also current to-day in the north of England (see Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*, 'Popple'), and it is therefore possible that Poppleton means an enclosed field in which one or other of these plants was growing. But the earliest known use of 'popple' in any of these senses dates only from 1425 (see N.E.D., 'Popple').

POTTERNEWTON.

Neuton (C.B.K., 110 [n.d.].

Neuton, Potters Neuton, Potter Newton (K.I., 34, 207, 286 [1285–1316]).

Potter Newton (P.T. [1379]).

Potternewton means "the new enclosure of the potter or potters." See Potterton and Newton.

POTTERTON.

Potertun (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Ade de Potterton (C.B.K., 138 [n.d.]).

Potterton (V.E., 39 [1535]).

Potterton goes back either to O.E. *Potterestun* = the enclosure of the potter, or to O.E. *Potteratun* = the enclosure of the potters. The earliest record of the word 'potter' is in a charter of the year 951 in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (No. 890), where it appears in the phrase *potteres lea* = the potter's field.

PRESTON (par. Kippax).

Prestune, Prestun (D.B. 97, 210 [1086]).

Preston (K.I., 35, 208, 289 [1285–1316]).

Preston (C.C.R., iii., 10 [1301]).

PRESTON (LONG).

Prestune (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Preston (K.I., 21 [1285–1316]).

This common English place-name is derived from O.E. *préost* = a priest, and O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The O.E. form may have been *Preostestun* = the enclosure of the priest, or *Preostatun* = the enclosure of the priests. The forms *Preostaleah*, *Prestahlyp*, *Prestegraf* and *Prestemere* in the Index to Kemble's *Codex* make it probable that the O.E. form was *Preostatun*.

PUDSEY.

Podechesaie, Podechesai (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

Pudekesaie, Pudekesseya, Puddesay, Podesay, Pukeseie (C.B.K., 101, 102, 111, 112, 174 [circ. 1200]).

Pudekesaye, Pudegesaia (C.C., 415 [temp. Hen. III.]).

Pudesay, Puddesay, Podesey (K.I., 30, 226, 280, 360 [1285–1316]).

Pudsey (Y.F., iii., 54 [1586]).

The older forms of Pudsey make it clear that the first element is a personal name, and that the termination is O.E. *ieg*, *ég* = a water-meadow. The O.E. personal name Puttoc appears in two eighth-century charters of Birch's *Cartularium* (Nos. 102, 1331), and it may be that Pudsey goes back to O.E. *Puttocesieg* = Puttoc's water-meadow. The change of medial *t* to *d* is most frequent in the south-western dialects of England, but is not unknown in the north, as the form *beedle* [*beidl*] for *beetle* in north-west Yorkshire clearly shows; see Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, pp. 228, 326. But it is also possible that Pudsey goes back to an O.E. personal name *Puduc*. This name is not recorded by Searle, but it exists as an O.E. word meaning 'a wen.' Remembering the fondness for nicknames among primitive races, it is not hard to believe that a man, disfigured by a wen, should be known as Puduc, and should give his name to the water-meadow which he farmed. See Scarcroft for another example of a nickname based upon personal deformity. The O.E. form of Pudsey may therefore have been *Puducesieg*, *Puduceseg*, *i.e.*, "the water-meadow of a man nicknamed Puduc."

PURSTON (JAGLIN).

Prestone, Preston (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Adam de Prestuna (P.C., 24, 27 [1190]).

Preston (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Preston Jakelyn (P.T. [1379]).

Preston Jaklyn (V.E., 71 [1535]).

The forms given above show that Purston is a curious and probably late instance of metathesis from Preston, *i.e.*, "the priests' enclosure" (see Preston). The *Jaglin* in Purston Jaglin is the Norman-French name Jacolin. A certain Thomas de Jaclyn appears as a Yorkshireman in the Poll Tax of 1379.

QUARMBY.

Joh. de Querneby (W.C.R., 83 [1274]).

Querneby (C.I.P.M., 325 [1326]).

Quarmbye alias Wharmbye (Y.F., i., 246 [1561]).

Cornebi, Cornelbi (D.B., 112, 218 [1086]).

Disregarding the Domesday Book spellings of this name, we may connect the M.E. form *Querneby* with the O.N. *kvern*, which means "a mill, hand-mill, quern." The word is also found in the O.N. compounds *kvernstæthi* = a mill-place, and *kvernâ* = a mill-stream. In *Querneby* we see the word associated with the Danish *by* = a farm, and the meaning of *Querneby* or *Quarmby* is therefore "the mill-farm." In the modern spelling of the name we see the substitution

of *a* for *e* before the following *r* and the substitution of *m* for *n* before the following *b*. The O.E. form cognate with O.N. *kvern* was *cweorn*, which appears in the O.E. place-names *Cweornwella* and *Cwyrnburna* (B.C.S., 1129, 1082).

QUICK

Quyk (Y.L.S., 89 [1297]).
Gilbert de la Quyk (Y.L.S., 89 [1297]).
Euota de la Quyk (Y.L.S., 89 [1297]).
Quik (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).
Qwyk (P.T. [1379]).

Thoac, Tohac (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Domesday scribes have failed hopelessly in their attempts to spell this name, and the forms *Thoac*, *Tohac*, may be summarily set aside. It is not unlikely that the name Quick is derived from O.E. *cwice* = couch-grass or quitch-grass. Such a name as 'Gilbert de la Quyk' or 'Gilbert of the couch-grass' would accordingly mean a man of that name who lived in a spot where couch-grass was abundant. It is also possible that Quick goes back to the O.E. adjective *cwic* = living, which is used in the special sense of living plants set to form a hedge; *cf.* the word 'quickset.' In the *Durham Account Rolls* for the year 1456–7 we read: '*Pro factura unius fosse et insertione de les Whyke*,' where *whyke* stands for *quick* in the sense of a hedge of living plants, probably hawthorn. 'Gilbert de la Quyk' may accordingly mean "Gilbert of the quickset or hawthorn-hedge" (see N.E.D., 'quick').

RASTRICK.

Rastric (D.B., 27, 218 [1086]).
Rastrik (W.C.R., i., 80, 96 [1274]).
Hen. de Rastrik (W.C.R., i., 112 [1275]).
Rastrike (V.E., 75 [1535]).

It is possible that the first element in this name is O.N. *röst*, genitive case, *rastar* = rest. In O.N. literature the word is generally used metaphorically to denote 'a mile,' *i.e.*, the distance between two 'resting-places,' but the original sense is preserved in the compound *heim-röst* = homestead. If this derivation is correct, the original form of Rastrick would be *Rastarwic* = the place of rest, or the place where horses were baited; the termination is O.E. *wic*, with an early loss of the initial *w*.

RATHMELL.

Rodemele (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Routhemel, Routhmel (C.C.R., iii., 181, 195 [1311–12]).

Routhemell (K.I., 199, 355 [1285–1316]).

Rob. Rawthemell (Y.D., 44, [1564]).

Rathmell (C.B., map [1789]).

This is a pure Scandinavian name, compounded out of O.N. *rauthr*, *rautha*, = red, and O.N. *melr* = sandhill. Under the form *Raudamelr*, it occurs in the Icelandic *Landnamabok* (Pt. ii., c. 5).

RAVENFIELD.

Rauenesfeld (D.B., 126, 127 [1086]).

Sim. de Ravenesfelde (Y.I., i., 1654 [1276]).

Rafnefeld, Ravenfeld (K.I., 3, 11, 365 [1285–1316]).

Ravenfield, as the earlier forms show, has lost a medial *s*. The O.E. form would be *Hræfenesfeld* or *Hræfnesfeld*, *i.e.*, the field of a man called *Hræfn*. The O.E. personal name *Hræfn* enters into the composition of a number of English place-names, *e.g.*, *Hræfneshyl*, *Hrefnespyt* (K.C.D., 209, 289), and the modern Ravenscroft, Ravensden. The O.N. cognate forms *Hrafn*, *Rafn*, are common in Scandinavian place-names; see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p, 195. Raven appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book.

RAWCLIFFE.

Routheclive, Roueclyve, Rouclif (Y.I., ii., 118, 122, 132 [1291]).

Roudacliva (C.C.R., iii., 115 [1308]).

Rouclyff (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Rawclyffe (P.T. [1379]).

Rawcliffe in the parish of Snaith does not find a place in Domesday Book, but Rawcliffe near York, in the East Riding, appears there as *Roudeclife*, *Roudclif*. The name is Scandinavian, formed out of O.N. *rautha* = red, and O.N. *klif* (O.E. *clif*) = a cliff. The meaning is accordingly "the red cliff."

RAWDON or RAWDEN.

Roudun, Rodum (D.B., 26, 199, 211 [1086]).

Roudon (C.B.K., 67, 287 [n.d.]).

Roudon, Raudon (K.I., 32, 33, 207, 286 [1285–1316]).

The earlier spellings of this name make it fairly certain that the true form is *Rawdon*, not *Rawden*, and that the termination is O.E. *dún* = a hill, not O.E. *denu* = a valley. The first element in the name is probably O.N. *rauthr* = red, which appears in Rawcliffe, Rawmarsh, and Rathmell (*q.v.*). The meaning is accordingly "the red hill."

RAWMARSH.

Routhemers, Routhemerch, Routhemarays, Romareis, Romeys (K.I., 4, 8, 231, 282, 358, 426 [1285–1316]).

Raumersche (P.T. [1379]).

Roumarays (C.C.R., ii., 231 [1280]).

Rawmarshe (Y.F., iii., 65 [1585]).

Rodemesc (D.B., 156, 213 [1086]).

The spellings *Rodemesc* and *Routhemers* stand for a more exact form *Routhemersc*, and there can be little doubt that Rawmarsh is formed out of O.N. *rauthr*, *rautha* = red and O.E. *mersc* = a marsh; hence, "the red marsh." Norman-French influence is seen in some of the forms of this name given above, and has substituted the French word *marais* (from Low Latin *marensis*) = a marsh, for the O.E. *mersc*.

RAYGILL.

Raghil (D.B., 135 [1086]).

Ric. de Ragill (K.I., 165 [1285]).

This name is clearly of Norse origin. The termination is O.N. *gil* = a gill, ravine, and the first element is O.N. *rá* = a corner, nook, or O.N. *rá* = a roebuck, or O.N. *rá* = a landmark. It is hardly possible to choose between these three O.N. words, which are independent of each other.

REEDNESS.

Rednesse (K.I., 363, 367 [1285–1316]).

Redenesse (C.B.S., i., 7, 8 [1324]).

The first element in Reedness may be O.E. *réad* = red or O.E. *hréod* = a reed, so that the meaning is either "the red ness," or "the reedy ness." The second element in either case is O.E. *ness*, *næss* = a cape, headland, ness. The O.E. words *réad* and *hréod* enter frequently into the composition of place-names, and unless the O.E. forms of such names are extant, it is not easy to distinguish between them.

RIBSTON.

Ripesten, Ripestain (D.B., 27, 154, 220 [1086]).

Rybbestan, Ribbestayn (Y.I., i., 181, 182 [1272]).

Ribbestain (C.C.R., iii., 150 [1310]).

Magna Ribstan, Rybstan (K.I., 205, 349 [1285–1316]).

Ribstone (Y.F., ii., 14 [1572]).

It is possible that the D.B. forms of this name with *p* for *b* are correct, in which case the name may be connected with O.N. *rípr* (plural *rípar*) = a crag, and the meaning of the whole would therefore be "the craggy rock," or "the stone by the crags" (O.N. *Ríparsteinn*). But it is also possible that Ribston preserves the clan or family name *Hrype*, which may lurk in Ripon and Ripley (*q.v.*). In this case Ribston may be the stone which marked the boundary of the territory of the *Hrype* or *Hrypas*.

RIDDLESDEN.

Redelesden (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Retlesden (P.Q.W., 225 [temp. Ed. I.]).

Riddlesden (Y.F., ii., 41 [1573]).

Riddlesden may be compared with Riddlesworth in Norfolk, which appears as *Redeleswordа* in Domesday Book, and with the unidentified *Hredles stede* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 377). It is probable that the first element in the name is the O.E. heroic name Hrethel, borne by the grandfather of Beowulf. This would give us *Hrethelesdenu* = the valley of Hrethel, as the original form of Riddlesden. It is also possible that the name goes back to O.E. Rædhelm—*Rædhelmesdenu* = the valley of Rædhelm.

RIGTON (par. Bardsey).

Ricton (C.B.K., 217 [1200]).

Richton (C.C.R., i., 471 [1257]).

Rigton (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Riggeton (K.I., 39 [1285–1316]).

Riston, Ritun, Ritone (D.B., 188, 204, 210]).

RIGTON (p. Kirkby Overblow).

Rigton (Y.F., iii., 86 [1588]).

Riston, Ristone (D.B., 194, 222 [1086]).

The D.B. form, *Riston*, shows the substitution by foreign scribes of *s* for *c*. The forms *Ricton* and *Richton* almost certainly go back to O.E. *hrycg* = back, ridge, elevated land, hence O.E. *Hrycgtun* = an enclosure of land on an elevation, on the ridge of a hill. But O.E. *Hrycgtun* would have developed into Mod. E. Ridgeton just as the *Hrycgleah* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 283) has become modern Ridgeley. What has happened in the case of Rigton is that the O.N. *hryggr* has taken the place of O.E. *hrycg*, with which it was identical in meaning. In the place-name Rigby = the village on the ridge of the hill, the O.N. *hryggr* was probably original, and not a substitution for O.E. *hrycg*.

RILSTONE.

Rilestun, Rilistune (D.B., 194, 195 [1086]).

Rilleston (C.C.R., ii., 1 [1257]).

Rilleston, Rilston (K.I., 14, 192, 193, 356 [1285–1316]).

It may be that the first element in Rilstone is the modern English word "rill," which is of uncertain origin, but undoubtedly connected with the Low German *rille* = a small stream, rill. In this case, Rilstone may be rendered "the enclosure by the rills of water"; but it should be noticed that Cleasby and Vigfusson record in their *Old Icelandic Dictionary* an O.N. word *rill* = a mob, which is apparently of rare occurrence. It is therefore possible that Rilstone owes its name to this word, and means "the enclosure of the mob, the rabble."

RIMINGTON.

Remington, Rimington, Rymyngton (K.I., 19, 199, 354 [1285–1316]).

Robert de Rimington (K.I., 18 [1285]).

Renitone (D.B., 135 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that Rimington is connected with the O.E. word *rima* = border, edge, rim. The *Rimingas* would accordingly be "the dwellers by the border," and *Rimingatun*, or *Rimington*, "the enclosure of the dwellers by the border." The situation of Rimington near the Lancashire border favours this interpretation; *cf.* Rimpton (Somerset), which is spelt *Rimtun* = the border-enclosure, in B.C.S., 931.

RIPLEY.

Ripeleia, Ripeleie, Ripelie (D.B., 154, 194, 222 [1086]).

Ripelai (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Rippelay (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Rippeleye, Rippeley, Rippelay (K.I., 47, 205, 294 [1285–1316]).

Ripley in Worcestershire appears as *Rippanleah* in a tenth-century charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1361), and there can be little doubt that *Rippanleah* or *Ripanleah* is the O.E. form of the Yorkshire Ripley. If, however, the O.E. form was spelt *Rippanleah*, it is very difficult to trace the origin of this name ; on the other hand, if *Ripanleah* is the true O.E. form, it is easy to connect the name with O.E. *rípan* = to reap, and O.E. *ripa*, *rypa* = a sheaf. The ordinary O.E. word for a sheaf of corn was *ríp*, but the form *rypa* or *ripa*, with short vowel, is found in the *Psalterium Latino-Saxonicum*. This would give us " the meadow where the sheaves stand," or " the meadow where corn is reaped," as the meaning of Ripley. It is, however, also possible that Ripley is to be associated with Ripon, and preserves the name of an O.E. clan or family called *Hrypas* or *Hrype*. See Ripon.

RIPON.

In Hrypum (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii., 25 ; v. 1 [731]).

In Hripum, Ripum, Rypon (A.S. Chron., anno 709, 785, 948).

Ripon (K.C.D., No. 358, 360 [? temp. Æthelstan].

Ripum, Ripun (D.B., 40, 41, 223 [1086]).

Ripon, Rypon (K.I., 331, 387, 404, 436 [1285–1316]).

The popular derivation of Ripon from the Latin *ripa* is highly improbable, for there is no evidence at all that this word was ever in use in either Celtic or Old English. It is much more likely that Ripon is from an O.E. word *rip*, *ripp*, which appears in O.E. charters, and is closely allied to the Frisian word *ripe*, meaning ' a border, edge, shore.' In a Kentish charter of the year 740 there occurs the following phrase : *ad silbam* [sic] *qui appellatur ripp et ad terminos suthsaxoniae* (K.C.D., 86), which is repeated in a charter of the following year (K.C.D., 1003), with the form *Rhip* for *ripp*. From this it is evident that *Rhip* or *Ripp* is the name of a wood, and the fact that it lay close to the boundary of the South-Saxon territory favours the view that the ' silva qui appellatur ripp ' may be interpreted ' the border wood.' Accepting this derivation, we may regard Ripon as taking its name from O.E. *in ripum* = on the borders. Bede's spelling of the name does not conflict with this view ; confusion between an initial *hr* and *r* is not unusual in O.E., and we find O.E. *réaf* (= plunder) spelt *hréaf*, O.E. *risc* (= a rush) spelt *hrisc*, and O.E. *rípan* (= to reap) spelt *hrípan*.

But it is also possible that a tribal name lurks in Ripon, and that Bede's phrase, *in Hrypum*, may have meant ' among the people called *Hrype* or *Hrypas*.' In support of this view, it may be noticed (1) that Hryp appears as an early ancestor of the kings of East Anglia (see Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 640), and may possibly have been the founder of a clan which took its name from him ; (2) that Bede's spelling of Jarrow is *In Gyrwum*, which undoubtedly

means "among the clan or family of the Gyrwe or Gyrwas"; *cf.* Bede, *de Gyrwiorum provincia*, iii., 20. The original home of the *Gyrwii*, *Gyrwe*, or *Gyrwas* was in the fen district, and it is possible to suppose that at an early period the two clans of the *Hrype* and *Gyrwe* migrated northwards, and established themselves, the one at Ripon, the other at Jarrow. See Ripley and Ribston.

RISHWORTH.

Hen. de Rissheworthe (Y.I., i., 165 [1276]).

Risseworth (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Rysseworth (P.T. [1379]).

Rysshworth (Y.D., 17 [1538]).

Rishworth is "the settlement or dwelling-place (O.E. *wurth*) by the rushes," the first element in the name going back to O.E. *risc*, *risce* = a rush. Rushworth is another form of the same name, but is from O.E. *rysce*, a variant form of *risce*.

ROALL.

Ruhale (D.B., 106, 215 [1086]).

Rughala (P.C. 29 [1159]).

Alex de Rughale (P.C., 454 [1200]).

Rohala (C.C.R., i., 110 [1230]).

Rushalle (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The spelling *Rushalle* given above is without support, and the probability is that *Rughale* and *Ruhale* are the true M.E. forms. These point back to O.E. *rúh* = rough, and O.E. *halh*, *healh* = a corner, so that Roall means "a rough corner," or "an angular enclosure of rough land."

ROECLIFFE.

Routheclyf (C.C.R., i., 374 [1252]).

Rotheclyve (C.C.R., ii., 240 [1280]).

Routhecliff (K.I., 353 [1086]).

John de Roeclive (Y.I., i., 125 [temp. Hen. III.]).

The M.E. forms *Routhecliff*, *Routheclyf*, show that Roecliffe is another form of Rawcliffe (*q.v.*). The constituent parts are O.N. *rauthr* = red, and O.N. *klif* = cliff. The meaning is accordingly "the red cliff."

ROSSINGTON.

Rosington (Y.I., i., 198, 199, 200 [1279]).

Rosyngton (P.T. [1379]).

Risington (K.I., 359 [1285–1316]).

The form *Risington* is without support, and the probability is that *Rosington* is the true M.E. form. I am disposed to connect the name with the Teutonic root *hros* = a horse, which is changed to *hors* in O.E., but appears as *hross* in O.N., *hros* in Old Saxon and Old High German, and *ros* in Old Frisian. The famous O.E. name Horsa and the Icelandic names Hrosskill and Hrossbjörn show clearly that the word was often used as a personal name, and Rossington may therefore be "the enclosure of the family of a Scandinavian called Hrossi or Hrosskill, or of a German called Hroso or Roso." The theme *Hros- or Ros-* enters into the formation of a number of Old German names, *e.g.*, Rospert, Roselm, Rosmoth, and into the place-names *Rossungamarca*, *Hrosbah* or *Rosbach*, *Hrosdorf* or *Rosdorf*.

ROTHERHAM.

Rodreham, Rodreha' (D.B., 67, 214 [1086]).

Roderham (C.C.R., ii., 265 [1282]).

Roderham (K.I., 230, 358 [1285–1316]).

Rotheram (V.E. 44 [1535]).

Rotherham is the home (O.E. *hám*) or, more probably, the enclosure of land (O.E. *hamm*) by the river Rother. Rother is a common English river-name, and Celtic scholars identify it with the Welsh *Rhuddwr, i.e.*, "red water."

ROTHWELL.

Rodewelle, Rodouuelle (D.B., 113, 175, 218 [1086]).

John de Rothewell (C.C., 237 [1420]).

Rothwell (Y.F., ii., 130 [1578]).

Rouell (K.I., 360 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Rothwell is probably the O.N. adjective *rauthr* (weak form, *rautha*) = red, which also enters into the composition of Roecliffe, Rawcliffe, Rawmarsh, and Rawdon. Domesday Book, as usual, substitutes *d* for *th*, and in the form *Rouell*, we see the disappearance of the *th*. The termination is O.E. *well*, *wella* = a well, spring, fountain, and the meaning of Rothwell would seem to be "a spring or well of water coloured red by the presence of iron." The purely English forms *Readwel*, *Readanwyl*, from O.E. *réad* = red, are found in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 816, 1159, 1250).

ROYSTON.

Rorestun, Rorestone (D.B., 107, 216 [1086]).

Roreston (A.G.R., 59, 60 [1233]).

Roston (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Ruston (V.E., 43, 57 [1535]).

Royston (Y.F., iii., 78 [1587]).

Royston in Yorkshire is of a different origin from Royston in Cambridgeshire, which owes its name to a certain Lady Roese, who set up a cross there (see Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 13). The Yorkshire Royston is identical in origin with Ruston in the East Riding, and both appear as *Roreston*, *Rorestun*, in Domesday Book. The first element is almost certainly the Scandinavian personal name *Hroarr*, which in its turn is a contracted form of *Hrothgeirr*, the O.N. equivalent of the O.E. *Hrothgar* of Beowulf fame. The O.N. Hroarr enters into the formation of the place-name *Hroarslækr* (=Hroarr's stream) in the Icelandic *Landnamabok* (v. 3, 6, 7, 9). The development of the sound *oi* in Royston out of earlier *ó* (Roston) is, according to Wright (*Dialect Grammar*, § 162), peculiar to South Yorkshire and South Lancashire, and is illustrated by the pronunciation in those districts of *noin* for *noon*.

RUFFORTH.

Ruhford, Rucford (C.C.R., iii., 150, 158, 161 [1310]).

Rughford, Rufford (K.I., 26, 221, 290 [1285–1316]).

Ruforde, Ruford, Rufort (D.B., 107, 207, 220 [1086]).

Rufford (C.C.R., ii., 76 [1237–1300]).

The most primitive of the forms given above is the *Ruhford* of the Charter Roll. The meaning is "the rough ford," the constituent elements being O.E. *rúh* = rough, and O.E. *ford* = a ford.

RYHILL.

Rihella, Rihelle (D.B., 110, 217 [1086]).

Rob. de Rihil, Ryhil (Y.I., i., 13, 33 [1248]).

Ryhill (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The first element in this name is somewhat uncertain, but it may be O.E. *ryge* = rye. Ryhall in Rutland is spelt *Righal*, *Rihale*, in two of Kemble's Charters (Nos. 927, 984), and seems to be compounded of O.E. *ryge* = rye, and O.E. *halh* = a corner, hence "a corner of land in which rye is growing." The meaning of Ryhill would accordingly be "a hill (O.E. *hyll*) covered with a crop of rye"; *cf.* Ryecroft, in the parish of Birstal, which is almost certainly "the rye field" (O.E. *Rygecroft*).

RYTHER.

Ridre, Rie (D.B., 100, 204, 212 [1086]).

Rythre (C.C.R., ii., 481 [1299]).

Rithre, Rither, Ryther (K.I., 49, 214, 284 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that the name Ryther is from a rare O.E. word *gerýther*, which probably means 'a clearing,' and is closely allied to the Bavarian dialect word *Geried*, plural *Gerieder*, which means the same thing. In an account of the boundaries of a piece of land mentioned in one of Birch's Charters of the year 940, we meet with the phrase—*of thæm crundele on tha lytla hwitan gerythra* = from the ravine to the little white clearings (B.C.S., 756). See Middendorff, *op. cit.*, *p.* 58. The change from *gerýther* to *rýther*, through the loss of the prefix *ge-* is quite normal.

SADDLEWORTH.

Sadelesworth (P.Q.W., 248 [temp. Ed. I.]).

Sadelworth (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Saddleworth (Y.F., iii., 144 [1590]).

The spelling *Sadelesworth*, found in the *Placita de quo Warranto* of the reign of Edward I., is probably more primitive than the *Sadelworth* of the *Nomina Villarum*, and it invites comparison with the unidentified *Sædeles sceat* and *Sædeles stræt* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 1190, 597), where *Sædeles* is apparently the genitive case of a personal Sædel or Sadol. No such name is recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, and we may, perhaps, assume that, like many other personal names entering into the composition of Yorkshire place-names, it was a nickname. Its meaning is 'a saddle,' and Saddleworth (O.E. *Sædeleswurth*) may therefore be rendered "the dwelling-place of Saddle."

SANDAL MAGNA.

Sandala, Sandale (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Sandale (P.R., xxii., 181 [1175]).

Sandalle (Y.I., i., 199 [1279]).

Sandale (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Sandal is almost certainly formed out of O.E. or O.N. *sand* = sand, and O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr* = a dale, valley. The uncontracted O.N. form *Sanddalr* appears in the Icelandic *Landnamabok* (Bk. ii., chap. 3).

SAWLEY.

Sallaia, Sallai (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Salley (C.C.R., i., 245, 265 [1239]).

Callay (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

Sawley (V.E., 144 [1535]).

Sawley goes back, through M.E. *Salley*, to O.E. *Salhleah*, where the first element is O.E. *salh* = a willow-tree, and the meaning of the whole is "the meadow by the willow-tree" O.E. *salh* underwent 'fracture' to *sealh* in the south of England, and this form appears as *seal* in such a place-name as Sealhurst (Hants.), spelt *Sealhyrst* = the willow coppice, in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1131). The change of *Salley* to Sawley is identical with that of *Baltry* to Bawtry.

SAXTON.

Saxtun (D.B., 99, 216 [1086]).

Saxton (K.I., 215, 285, 346 [1285–1316]).

Saxtone (C.B.K., 222 [n.d.].

The first element here is probably O.E. *seax*, *sax* = a knife, short sword, which is supposed to give its name to the Seaxe or Saxons, and which is found as the first element in a number of O.E. personal names, *e.g.*, Seaxræd, Saxulf; *cf.* *Seaxes seath* (= the pit of a man called Seax) in Kemble's *Codex* (1096). Saxton may accordingly go back to O.E. *Seaxestun* = the enclosure of a man called Seax, Seaxræd, or Saxulf.

SCAGGLETHORPE.

Skakelthorpe (C.C.R., i., 433 [1253]).

Skakelthorp, Scakelthorp, Shakilthorp (K.I., 27, 222, 291, 342 [1285–1316]).

Skagilthorpe (Y.F., iii., 67 [1586]).

Scachertorp, Scarchetorp (D.B., 176, 206, 219 [1086]).

This is a Scandinavian name, and the first element in it is probably O.N. *skökul*, which is derived from the verb *skaka* = to shake, and is cognate with O.E. *sceacel* = a shackle. The O.N. word *skökull* means (1) the pole of a cart or carriage; (2) a horse-yard; and (3) it appears in the *Landnamabok* as a nickname. It may be that it is as a nickname that it is used in Scagglethorpe, or it may be that the meaning of the name is "the village with a horse-yard, *i.e.*, an enclosed space where horses are exercised"; *cf.* Scackleton in the North Riding, which appears as *Scachelden* in D.B., and Shackleford in Surrey.

SCARCROFT.

Skarthecrofte, Scarthecroft, Scarecroft (K.I., 40, 208, 287 [1285–1316]).

Scarthecroft (C.C.R., iii., 40 [1304]).

Scardecroft (C.C.R., i., 375 [1252]).

Scharcroft (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in *Scarthecroft*, the M.E. form of Scarcroft, is undoubtedly Scandinavian. The O.N. *skarth*, which is connected with the verb *skera* = to cut, is used in at least two senses: (1) a mountain pass; *cf.* Scarth Gap or Scarf Gap in Cumberland; (2) a cut, notch. In this second sense, it appears as a nickname, under the form *Skarthi*, for a person disfigured by hare-lip. It is highly probable that *Skarthecroft* or *Scarthecroft* goes back to an earlier *Skarthacroft*, *Skartha* being the genitive case of Skarthi. The meaning of Scarcroft is accordingly "the field (O.E. *croft*) of Skarthi or Hare-lip." Scarborough, which is spelt *Scartheburgh* in many early M.E. documents, and *Skarthaborg* in the O.N. *Kormaks Saga*, is, in the same way, "the fortified place or manor-house of Skarthi"; *cf.* also the Norwegian place-names Skarderud, Skarrarudh, and the Danish Skardeböl, Skarholt.

SCAWSBY.

Scalchebi (D.B., 122, 215 [1086]).

Scalceby, Scauceby (C.C.R., i., 146, 471 [1232–1257]).

Adam de Scauceby ((Y.I., i., 12 [1247]).

Scauseby, Sauceby (K.I., 232, 359 [1285–1316]).

Scawsby is in all probability a weakened form of *Scalcesby*, and the first element in the name is akin to that in *Scealcesburne* and *Scealceshom* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 1000, 364). But whereas in *Scealcesburne* and *Scealceshom* the first element is O.E. *scealc* = a servant, in Scawsby it is probably the O.N. *skálkr* = (1) a slave, servant; (2) a rogue. Scawsby means accordingly, "the farm of the slave," or "the farm of a man called Skalkr."

SCOSTHROP.

Scotorp (D.B., 30, 197, 224 [1086]).

Scothorp (M.F., ii., pt. i., 16 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Scothorp (K.I., 15, 191, 193 [1285–1316]).

Scosthorpe (Y.F., iii., 170 [1591]).

Whereas the modern form Scosthorp almost certainly goes back to a form *Scotesthorp* meaning 'the village or hamlet of a man called Scot,' the usual M.E. form seems to have been *Scothorp*,

which has apparently come from O.E. *Scottathorp*, or O.N. *Skotathorp, i.e.*, 'the hamlet or village of the Scots.' The modern form shows metathesis of *thorp* to *throp*.

SCOTTON.

Scotona, Scotone (D.B., 161, 187, 199 [1086]).

Scotton (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Scottuna (C.C.R., iii., 114 [1308]).

The original form was either O.E. *Scottatun* or O.N. *Skotatun* = the enclosure of the Scots. See Scosthrop.

SCRIVEN.

Scrauinghe, Scrauinge (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

Scravin (P.R., xi., 94 [1167]).

Screvene (C.I.P.M., i., 159 [1300]).

Screvyn (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Scryveyn (P.T. [1379]).

It is possible that Scriven derives its name from O.E. *scræf* or *scref* = a cave, cavern, den, hovel, to which has been added the suffix *-ing*, either in a diminutive sense, or to denote the dwellers in a place; *cf.* O.E. *Eoforwicingas* = the inhabitants of Eoforwic or York. The meaning of Scriven, thus interpreted, would therefore be either "the little caves," "the little hovels," or "(the place) of the cave-dwellers, the dwellers in the hovels." If this be the origin of the name, we must assume that the O.E. *scræf* has been subjected to Scandinavian influence; otherwise the initial letters would be *sh*, not *sc;* the early development of the termination *-ing* into *-in* is similar to that in Birkin.

SEACROFT.

Sacroft, Sacrofft (D.B., 98, 210 [1086]).

Secroft (C.B.K., 7, 52, 114 [1199]).

Secroft (K.I., 36, 208, 287 [1285–1316]).

The M.E. forms *Secroft* and *Sacroft* probably point back to O.E. *Sæcroft*, O.E. *á* appearing in Domesday Book sometimes as *a*, sometimes as *e*. The O.E. word *sá* was used very loosely for any piece of water, from the sea down to a pool, and though there is now no piece of water of any size in the neighbourhood of Seacroft, it is quite possible that there was once sufficient water there to make the name "the field (O.E. *croft*) by the lake or pool" intelligible. It is also possible, as Mr. C. J. Battersby points out, that a *d* has dropped out of this name, and that the original form was *Sædcroft, i.e.*, "the seed field, the field which was sown with grain."

SEDBERGH.

Sedberge (D.B., 31 [1086]).

Sedbergh (C.C.R., i., 361 [1251]).

Sadbergh, Sadburgh (K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

Sedebergh (Y.D., 210 [1398]).

The variants *Sedbergh* and *Sadbergh*, like *Secroft* and *Sacroft* in the preceding name, may point back to O.E. *Sædbeorg*, O.E. *é*, as stated under Seacroft, appearing in M.E. documents sometimes as *e* and sometimes as *a*. The first element may therefore be O.E. *séd* = seed, and to this is added O.E. *beorg* = a hill, mound, barrow. I think it possible that the name indicates some barrow in which seed was stored, perhaps similar in form to the turnip and potato barrows seen in the fields to-day. I am, however, more disposed to accept Mr. C. J. Battersby's interpretation of this name. He compares it with the O.N. word *setberg* = a seat-formed or saddle-formed rock or crag, which appears as the name of a hill in Iceland; *cf.* Saddleback in Cumberland. The *t* in Setberg would quite naturally become voiced to *d* before the following *b*, just as in Skibeden (*q.v.*) original *p* is voiced to *b* before *d*.

SELBY.

Salebia, Seleby (C.B.S., i., 133 *et passim* [1317]).

Salebi (C.P.R., i., 60 [1218]).

Selby (K.I., 344 [1285–1316]).

The chief difficulty in the interpretation of the name Selby lies in the attempt to reconcile the forms *Salebi* and *Seleby*, which are often found side by side in M.E. records. It is possible that the first element is O.N. *selja* = the sallow, willow, and that the form *Salebi* is due to the substitution of O.E. *salh*, M.E. *salwe* = a sallow, willow, for the O.N. *selja*. This would give us "the willow-farm," or "the village by the willows" as the meaning of Selby. Secondly, the first element may be O.N. *sela*, the gen. plur. of *selr* = a seal. The seal is still found occasionally in the Humber, and is known to have bred in large numbers at the mouth of the Tees as late as the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the first element may be the O.N. personal name *Seli*, genitive case *Selja*, which gives us "Seli's farm," or "Seli's village" as the meaning of Selby; *cf.* Seljestad and Selstad in Norway. Of these three derivations, the first is the most likely, inasmuch as it is the only one which enables us to reconcile the contemporary spellings *Seleby* and *Salebi*.

SELSIDE.

Selesat (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Selside (C.B. Map [1789]).

Selside probably goes back, through the D.B. form *Selesat* to O.N. *Seljasætr*, in which the first element is either O.N. *selja* = a willow, or O.N. Selja, the genitive case of the personal name Seli; see Selby. The termination is O.N. *sætr* = a dairy-farm, and the meaning of the whole is therefore either "the dairy-farm by the willows," or "Seli's dairy-farm"; *cf.* Ormside, Cumberland, which goes back to O.N. *Ormssætr*, and means "Orm's dairy-farm."

SETTLE.

Setel (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Setel (C.C.R., i., 340 [1249]).

Setell, Setill, Settill (K.I., 21, 200, 355 [1285–1316]).

Settle is the modern form of O.E. *setl* = a dwelling, residence. Preceded by some personal name, *setl* appears fairly frequently in the charters of Kemble's *Codex*, *e.g.*, *Ecgulfes setl* (No. 377), *Lullan setle* (Nos. 652, 1065), *Pegeles setl* (No. 272). But the Yorkshire Settle seems never to have been preceded by a personal name.

SHADWELL.

Scadeuuelle (D.B., 26, 210 [1086]).

Rob. de Scadewell (P.R., ix., 47 [1166]).

Shadewell, Schadwell, Shadwell, (K.I., 40, 208, 287 [1285–1316]).

Shadwell is formed out of O.E. *sceadu*, *scadu* = shadow, shady place, arbour, and O.E. *well* = a well, spring. The place accordingly owes its name to some well or spring of water overshadowed by tree or rock. Shadwell in Worcestershire appears as *Sceadwæll* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 570), where the first element is *scead*, a variant of *sceadu, scadu*.

SHAFTON.

Adam de Schafton (Y.I., i., 264 [1261]).

Hen. de Shefton (A.G.R., 97 [1246]).

Schafton (P.T. [1379]).

Sceptun, Sceptone (D.B., 68, 108, 216 [1086]).

Chafton, Chatton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The form *Sceptun* in Domesday Book shows the substitution of *pt* for *ft*; another instance of the same is D.B. *Sceptesberie* for modern Shaftesbury, which appears as *Sceaftesbirig* in Kemble's Charters. Accepting *Schafton* and *Shefton* as the true M.E. forms of this name, we are still in difficulty as to the derivation. The first element in the word cannot well be O.E. *scéaf* = a sheaf, bundle, for this gives no sense. It may, however, be O.E. *sceaft* = a shaft, pole,

which would give us *Sceafttun* = the enclosure by the pole as the original form ; *cf.* Stapleton. Finally, the first element may be an O.E. personal name Sceafta, a contracted form of Sceafthere or Sceaftwine, and cognate with the O.N. Skapti, which appears in the Norwegian place-names Skafstad, Skaftegaarden.

SHARLESTON.

Scharnestone (Y.I., i., 174 [1276]).

Sharneston (K.I., 229, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

Sharweston (Y.L.S., 96 [1297]).

Sharleston (Y.F., iii., 45 [1585]).

This is a difficult name, and the problem lies in reconciling the three forms *Sharneston*, *Sharweston*, *Sharleston*, given above. It is phonologically impossible to regard the spellings with medial *n*, *w*, and *l* respectively as interchangeable forms, and the probability is that here, as in the case of *Darthyngton* and *Darnington*, the early forms of Darrington (*q.v.*), we must look for a word or name which includes all the consonants. The only word which supplies us with the *n*, *w*, and *l* is O.E. *scearnwifel* = a dung-beetle. *Wifel* (= a beetle) is an exceedingly common O.E. nickname, and appears again and again in English place-names, *e.g.*, Wilsill (*q.v.*), Wilsford, Wiveliscomb, Wivelshall, etc. ; and it seems reasonable to suppose that our early ancestors, who were just as complimentary as the modern British schoolboy in the bestowal of nicknames, may have dubbed one of their fellows *Scearnwifel*, or dung-beetle, a name which has been preserved to all time in the modern Sharleston (O.E. *Scearnwifelestun* = the field or farm of Dung-beetle). The pedigree of the name would be somewhat as follows :—

Scearnwifelestun < *Scearnwilestun* < *Sharweston*, *Sharneston*, *Sharleston*

SHAROW.

Scharhow (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

Scharhowe, Scharhou (Y.I., iv., 41, 44 [1303]).

Scharow, Sharrow, Sharow (R.C.A., 29, 54, 80 [1454]).

I have not been able to find any spelling of this name earlier than the thirteenth century, and if we accept the forms *Sharehow*, *Scharhowe* as they stand, the name may be formed from O.E. *scear* = a plough-share and O.N. *haugr*, M.E. *howe* = a how, hill, which would give 'plough-share hill' as the meaning of the name. But it is very possible that such a form as *Scharhowe* has lost a *d* after *r* in the same way that Scarcroft and Scarborough have lost it (see Scarcroft). If this is so, the first element in the name may be O.E. *sceard*, or even O.N. *skarth* = a gap, giving us " the hill with a gap or pass in it," as the meaning of Sharow ; *cf.* Scarf Gap, *i.e.*, Skarth Gap, in the Lake District.

SHEFFIELD.

Escafeld, Scafeld (D.B., 122, 215 [1086]).

Sheffeld (C.C.R., ii., 466 [1296]).

Sheffeld (K.I., 3, 358 [1285–1316]).

The Domesday Book spelling *Escafeld*, with the introduction of an initial *e* before the *sc*, reveals the Norman-French clerk; *cf.* *Snaith*. Sheffield apparently means "the field through which the river Sheaf flows." The river-name Sheaf is probably English in origin, and it is just possible that the river owes its name to the *Scéaf* of the Teutonic myth, whose story is told in the early verses of *Beowulf*. See Introduction, p. xxvii.

SHELF.

Scelf (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Schelf (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Shelf (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1311]).

Shelf takes its name from O.E. *scylf*, *scelf* = a peak, crag. The word appears in composition in Tanshelf (*q.v.*), while the O.N. cognate form, *skjálf* appears in Ulleskelf (*q.v.*).

SHELLEY.

Skelflay (T. de N., 364 [13th cent.]).

Hen. de Schelflaya (Y.D., 58 [n.d.]).

Schellay (P.T. [1379]).

Scelneleie, Sciuelei (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Chelueley (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

In the D.B. spelling, *Scelneleie*, the medial *n* is a scribal error for *u* or *v*, and it is fairly certain that the Yorkshire Shelley is identical in origin with the Shelley in Suffolk, which is *Scelfleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 685). The constituent parts are O.E. *scelf*, *scylf* = a peak, crag, and O.E. *léah* = a lea, meadow. The meaning is accordingly "the meadow by the crag," or "the craggy meadow." The spelling *Skelflay* of the *Testa de Neville* shows a Scandinavian spelling, with the substitution of O.N. *skjálf* for O.E. *scylf*, *scelf*; see Shelf.

SHEPLEY.

Scipelei, Seppeleie (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

Shepeleye (C.B.K., 270, 271 [1334]).

Scheplay (Y.I., i., 18 [1249]).

Shepley (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Shepley is in its origin identical with Shipley, both words being formed out of O.E. *scéap* = a sheep, and O.E. *léah* = a lea, meadow. The form *scéap* is West-Saxon ; in the Northumbrian dialect it is replaced by *scíp* (from which comes Shipley), in the Mercian dialect by *scép ;* and it is probably this Mercian form which survives in Shepley, with shortening of the *é* before two consonants. The form *Scipelei* of Domesday Book is the Northumbrian spelling, and the inflectional *e* after the *p* in *Scipelei* and *Shepeleye* indicates that it is the genitive plural form—*scípa, scépa, scéapa*—which enters into the formation of the place-name—O.E. *Sceapaleah, Scepaleah, Scipaleah* = the meadow of the sheep.

SHERBURN.

Scireburnan (B.C.S., iii., 345 [972]).

Scireburne (D.B., 34, 211 [1086]).

Skireburne (C.C.R., ii., 269 [1257–1300]).

Scireburn, Schirburn, Shirbourn, Sherburn (K.I., 37, 48, 213 *et passim* [1285–1316]).

There are many Sherburns or Sherborns in England, and they owe their name to the clear waters of some burn or stream which flows near them. The spelling *Scireburnan* in Birch's *Cartularium* is identical with that under which the Dorset Sherborne appears in a number of O.E. charters, and the constituent elements are O.E. *scír* = clear, bright, gleaming, and O.E. *burna, burne* = a stream, burn. But O.E. *Scireburne* would have given Mod. E. *Shirburn, Shirborne,* and it is evident that the O.E. *scír* has been modified by the influence of O.N. *skærr* = pure, clear, bright. The modern form, like the adjective ' sheer,' is Scandinavian as regards its vowel, but English in its initial *sh* instead of the Scandinavian *sk, sc.* In the form *Skireburne* of the Charter Roll the first element is O.N. *skírr.* which is identical in meaning with O.N. *skærr* and O.E. *scír.*

SHIPLEY.

Scipeleia, Scipelei (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

Shepeley, Scheplei (K.I., 30, 224, 360 [1285–1316]).

Shepelay (C.C.R., iii., 307 [1316]).

Shipley (V.E., 301 [1535]).

See Shepley. In Shipley we see the survival of the Northumbrian *scíp* for West-Saxon *scéap* = sheep, though the Mercian form *scép,* which survives in Shepley, appears in many of the early spellings of this name. The meaning is " the sheep meadow "—O.E. *Sceapaleah, Scepaleah, Scipaleah.*

SHIPPEN.

Scipene (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Schipena (P.C., 357 [circ. 1210]).

Scipene, Scypin, Schepyn, Shepin, Shippyn (Colman's *History of Barwick-in-Elmet*).

Shippen takes its name from O.E. *scypen* = cattle-stall, cow-shed, a word which still survives in the dialects of the north and west of England as *shippen, shippon.*

SHITLINGTON.

Schittelington, Shitelington (K.I., 228, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

Schitlingtona (P.C., 106 [1155]).

Schetlintona (P.C., 102 [1155]).

Scellintone, Schelintone (D.B., 13, 217 [1086]).

I am disposed to think that the original form of Shitlington was *Sceotwaldingatun, i.e.*, the enclosure of the sons of Sceotwald. The name Sceotwald occurs in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, and a weakened form of it—Schitwol—appears in an eleventh-century charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1324). The pedigree of the name would be somewhat as follows: *Sceotwaldingatun* > *Schitwolingtun* or *Schetwolingtun* > *Schitwelington* > *Shitelington* > *Shitlington.*

SICKLINGHALL.

Sikelinghal (C.C.R., i., 375 [1252]).

Sykelynghall, Siclinghalle, Sigglinghall (K.I., 45, 203, 293, 349 [1285–1316]).

Sidingale, Sidingal (D.B., 28, 222 [1086]).

The first element in Sicklinghall is in all probability the O.N. word *siklingr* = a king, a poetic word, found in the *Edda* and other O.N. poems; the ordinary word for a king is *konungr*. The Domesday Book spellings of the name are misleading. The termination of Sicklinghall may be either O.E. *halh* = a corner, or O.E. *hall, heall* = a hall, mansion. If we accept the latter form, it is possible to regard Sicklinghall as the residence of some Scandinavian king.

SILKESTON.

Silchestone, Silcston (D.B., 107, 108, 216 [1086]).

Bernard de Silechest' (P.R., ix., 47 [1167]).

Silkeston (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

It is fairly certain that the first element in Silkeston is the same as that in Silksworth, Durham, which appears as *Sylceswyrth* in a

charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1125). The first element may be (1) the personal name Sioloce or Seoloce, which appears as the name of a Hertfordshire boor in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1354); or (2) the fuller form, Seolcwine, Siolcwine, recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*. The full form of Silkeston would accordingly be *Siolocestun* or *Siolcwinestun* = the enclosure of Sioloce or Siolcwine.

SILSDEN.

Siglesdene (D.B., 178 [1086]).

Sighelesden, Siglesdon, Sigglesdon (K.I., 13, 196, 356 [1285–1316]).

Syglesdeyn (P.T. [1379]).

Syllesden (Y.F., iii., 153 [1591]).

Siglesdene and *Sighelesden*, the most primitive of the spellings of Silsden which appear above, clearly point back to an O.E. *Sigehelmesdenu*, which signifies "the valley of Sigehelm." The heroic name Sigehelm is fairly common in O.E. charters and other documents; see Searle's *Onomasticon*.

SKELBROOK.

Scalebroc (P.C., 90 [1190]).

Oliver de Scalebroc (P.R., vii., 13 [1164]).

Scalebro, Scalebre (D.B., 102, 215 [1086]).

Skelbrok (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Skelbrok (C.C.R., iii., 160 [1311]).

It is probable that the two forms *Scalebroc* and *Skelbrok* given above are independent of one another as far as their origin goes, though closely allied in meaning. The first element in the form *Scalebroc* is probably M.E. *scale* = a shell, fish's scale, which is derived either from O.E. *scale* = a shell, husk, or, more probably, from Danish *skal* = a shell, husk. The form *Skelbroc*, on the other hand, goes back to O.E. *scel* or O.N. *skel* = a shell. The termination is O.E. *bróc* = brook, and the meaning of Skelbrook is accordingly "the shelly brook," or "the shaly brook." Yet another possible derivation of *Scalebroc* is from O.N. *skáli* = a temporary hut, a shieling; hence, "the brook with a hut built upon its banks." The O.N. *skáli* appears in the Yorkshire place-names Scholes, Scolbrook, and Sholbrook.

SKELDEN.

Chenaresford, Kenaresforde, Neresford (D.B., 41, 185, 223 [1086]).

Cnarresford, Knarford, Sheldon (K.I., 417 [1285–1316]).

Skeldon (P.T. [1379]).

Skelden is obviously a place which has changed its name in the lapse of years. The form *Chenaresford* and its variants are all English in origin, and the first element is the same as that in Knaresborough (*q.v.*). The original form would be *Cenwardesford* or *Cynewardesford* = the ford of Cenward or Cyneward. The forms *Sheldon, Skeldon,* and *Skelden* are to be associated either with O.E. *scel* or O.N. *skel* = a shell (see Skelbrook), or with the O.N. verb *skilja* = to divide, separate.

SKELLOW.

Skelhale (Dodsworth MSS., x., 357 [1336]).
Skelhall (V.E., 50 [1535]).
Skelale (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).
Skellawe (P.T. [1379]).
Skellowe (Y.F., iii., 18 [1584]).

Scanhalla, Scanhalle (D.B., 102, 215 [1086]).

It is probable that the D.B. form *Scanhalla* is a mistake for *Skalhalla,* and that the first element in Skellow is identical with that in Skelbrook (*q.v.*). There is also some variation in the termination. It seems originally to have been O.E. *halh,* M.E. *hale* = a corner-shaped piece of land, but the modern form points to O.E. *hléw, hláw* = a hill.

SKELMANTHORPE.

Scelmertorp, Scemeltorp (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).
Mat. de Scalmerthorph (P.C., 184 [1230]).
Scelmarthorpe (Y.D., 153 [1283]).
Skelmarthorpe (W.C.R., i., 242, ii., 217 [1296]).
Skelmanthorp (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).
Skelmanthorp (V.E., 58 [1535]).
Skelmanthorpe (Y.F., iii., 57 [1586]).

Putting aside the form *Scemeltorp* as corrupt, we have still two variants of this place-name: (1) *Skelmarthorp* or *Scalmerthorp,* and (2) *Skelmanthorp.* The former, as Mr. C. J. Battersby has pointed out to me, is remarkably like the place-names recorded in the Icelandic *Landnamabok, Skalmarkelda, Skalmarnes,* in which the first element is probably a personal name Skalmr or Skalmi. Both these names are recorded by Righ in his *Gamle Personnavne,* p. 219. But it is, on the whole, more probable that the first element in the form *Scelmarthorp,* or *Skelmarthorpe* is the O.D. personal name Skjalmar, Scialmarus, Skielmerus, or Skelmerus, recorded by Nielsen in his *Olddanske Personnavne* (p. 85), and probably pointing

back to a still earlier name *Skjaldmar*, which means 'shield-glorious.' The meaning of *Skelmarthorpe* may therefore be "the village of a man called Skialmar, or Skjaldmar"; *cf.* Skelmersdale (Lancs.).

There still remains for study the form *Skelmanthorp*, which seems to have replaced the earlier *Skelmarthorp* in the fourteenth century. How did this replacement come about? I venture to suggest the following theory to account for the change. It was inevitable that in the course of time the inhabitants of the village should forget all about Skjaldmar, the shield-glorious viking who gave his name to the place, and should associate Skelmarthorpe with the O.N. word *skelmir*, plural, *skelmar*, which means 'a devil,' 'a rascal,' 'a rogue.' "The village of the rogues" is a name of ill savour, and it behoved the inhabitants to make some change. Now, there is an O.N. word *skilmathr* which means 'a man of trust,' 'an honest man,' and its genitive plural is *skilmanna*. What could therefore be more desirable than that *Skelmarthorp*, "the rogues' village," should be changed to *Skilmanna'thorp* or *Skelmanthorpe*, *i.e.*, "the village of the honest men"?

SKELTON (par. Ripon).

Scheltone, Scheldone (D.B., 42, 183, 223 [1086]).

Scheltuna, Sceltona (C.C.R., iii., 113, 118 [1308]).

Skelton (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

SKELTON (par. Leeds).

Sceltun, Sceltune (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Skelton (K.I., 210 [1285–1316]).

See Skelbrook and Skellow. Skelton is a common Yorkshire place-name, and may be associated with O.N. *skel*, O.E. *scel* = a shell, or with O.N. *skilja* = to divide, separate.

SKIBEDEN.

Schibeden, Scipeden (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

Skibden, Skybdon (K.I., 13, 196, 356 [1285–1316]).

Skybdon (P.T. [1379]).

Skibeden, the name of a hamlet near Skipton, is almost certainly a Scandinavianised form of the place-name Shibden (Hall), near Halifax. Both go back to O.E. *Scipadenu* = the valley of the sheep, the first element being O.E. *scípa*, the gen. plur. of *scíp*, the Northumbrian form of West-Saxon *scéap*. For a fuller account of the phonological problem bound up with the name, see Skipton, and notice the voicing of *p* to *b* before *d* in Skibeden and Shibden.

SKIPTON.

Scipeton (Sym. of Durham, i., 225 [1130]).

Scipton, Sciptone (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

Skipton (C.C.R., ii., 208 [1278]).

Skipton, Skypton (K.I., 13, 189, 191, 356 [1285–1316]).

It is generally supposed that Skipton goes back to O.E. *Scipatun*, and means "the sheep enclosure," or "the sheep farm." This is probably the case, but the matter is not quite simple. The ordinary form of O.E. *Scipatun* would be Shipton (see Shipley), and the initial *sk* in Skipton undoubtedly marks Scandinavian influence. We frequently find in early spellings of Yorkshire place-names Scandinavian substitutions of *sk* for *sh*, *e.g.*, *Skelflay* for *Shelflay*, in the case of Shelley (*q.v.*), but this seems to have been generally confined to those names in which there was a Scand. form cognate with the native form; *e.g.*, O.N. *skjalf* = a ledge, seat, and O.E. *scylf* = a shelf, ledge. But, although there is an O.N. word *skip*, it means, not 'a sheep,' but 'a ship,' and the Scandinavian settlers could hardly have connected Skipton with navigation. The fact, however, that Shipton (Glos.) is spelt *Skipton* in the *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. i. (A.D. 1204–1224), seems to indicate that the substitution of O.N. *skip* for O.E. *scip* took place in other parts of England. In any case, there is not sufficient reason to doubt that Skipton is a Scandinavianised form of O.E. *Scipatun* = the sheep enclosure or sheep farm.

SKIRCOAT, or SKIRCOTE.

Skirecotes (W.C.R., ii., 11 [1297]).

Skirkotes (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Skyrcotes (P.T. [1379]).

This is a Scandinavian name, formed out of O.N. *skírr* = clear, bright, and O.N. *kot* = a cottage, hut, small farm. The meaning of Skircote is accordingly "the bright cottage," or, with the older plural form, "the bright cottages."

SLAIDBURN.

Slaghteburne, Slayteburn (C.C.R., ii., 436, 455 [1294]).

Slateborne (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Slayteburn (Y.I., i., 48 [1258]).

Slayteburn, Slaitburn, Sclateburn, Claxteburn (K.I., 15, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Slaidburne (Y.F., iii., 170 [1591]).

The older spellings show that Slaidburn has no connection with O.E. *sléd* = a valley, slade. The most primitive of the forms given above is the *Slaghteburne* of the Charter Roll, and the first element is probably Old Northumbrian English *slaht*, *slæht* (West-Saxon *sleaht*, *slieht*) = slaughter, battle. The termination is O.E. *burna*, *burne* = a stream, burn, so that the name Slaidburn probably marks the spot where a battle took place by the side of the stream.

SLAITHWAITE.

Jordan de Sclagtwayt (W.C.R., i., 171 [1277]).

Slaghewhaite (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

Slaxthwayt (P.T. [1379]).

Slaghwhaitte (V.E., 75 [1535]).

Slaughwaite (C.B. Map [1789]).

This name is obviously Scandinavian in origin. The termination is O.N. *thveit* = a clearing of rough ground for purposes of cultivation, but there is some uncertainty as to the first element in the name. It may be (1) O.N. *slag* = a blow, a skirmish, in which case Slaithwaite may mark the scene of some battle; (2) O.N. *slag* = wet, moisture, giving us "a clearing of land among the swamps" as the meaning of Slaithwaite; (3) O.N. *slakki* = a slope on the side of a mountain; *cf.* the northern dialect word 'slack' = a hollow on a hill-side. Of these three meanings, I incline to the third, and think that Slaithwaite means "the clearing on the slope of the mountain"; *cf.* the O.N. local name *slakkagil*, *i.e.*, "the ravine on the mountain-side," mentioned in the *Biscupa Sögur*.

SLENINGFORD.

Slenyngford (K.I., 212, 387, 417 [1285–1316]).

Slenyngford (R.C.A., 35 [1454]).

Slemyngfurth (V.E., 253 [1535]).

Scleneforde, Sclenneford (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

The D.B. spelling of this name is corrupt as far as the *c* which follows the initial *s* is concerned, and it is doubtful whether the later forms *Slenyng* or *Slemyng* are to be regarded as patronymics, inasmuch as there seems to have been no such O.E. or O.N. personal name as Slen or Slem. It is possible that the first element in the name is M.E. *slinginge*, O.E. *slingende*, the present participle of O.E. *slingan* = to twist, wind; this would give "the winding ford" as the meaning of Sleningford. The D.B. form *Scleneford* for *Sleneford* may, however, be more or less accurate, and may point back to O.E. *Slegenaford* as the original form of the name. If so, Sleningford marks the site of a conflict, for the meaning of *Slegenaford* is "the ford of the slain."

SMEATON (KIRK).

Smithatun (B.C.S., iii., 539 [966]).
Smithetuna (C.C.R., iii., 114 [1308]).
Magna Smytheton (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).
Smedetone (D.B., 103, 215 [1086]).
Smeton (Y.I., ii., 52 [1286]).

SMEATON (LITTLE, par. Womersley).

Parva Smytheton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).
Smedetone (D.B., 104 [1086]).

The spelling of this name in the O.E. charter of the year 966—*Smithatun*—is the original form of the name, and is constructed out of O.E. *smitha*, the genitive plural of *smith* = a smith, a worker in metal, with the addition of O.E. *tún* = a field, enclosure. The meaning of the name is accordingly "the piece of land set apart for the use of the smiths"; *cf.* Preston, and see Introduction, p. xxix.

SNAITH.

Esneid, Esnoid, Esnoit (D.B., 100, 187, 193 [1086]).
Sneid (P.R., xiii., 37 [1168]).
Snaith, Snait (C.C.R., i., 346, 357, 374 [1251]).
Snayth (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The Domesday Book spellings of this name show the French scribe both in the initial *e* (*cf.* Sheffield) and in the diphthong *oi*. The name Snaith springs from O.E. *snéd*, which means (1) a piece of land within well-defined limits but without enclosures; (2) a clearing in a wood. The root of the word is that of the O.E. word *sníthan* = to cut, so that the original idea is that of a piece of land cleared of timber or brushwood for agricultural purposes. But O.E. *snéd* would have developed into Mod. E. *sneed*, and the modern place-name has clearly come under the influence of the O.N. cognate word *sneith* = a slice. There is no evidence that the O.N. *sneith* was used in the special sense of O.E. *snéd*, and the inference is that the place-name Snaith, like the English word *gate*, is Scandinavian in form, but English in meaning. The O.E. *snéd*, with a shortening of the vowel before two consonants, is preserved in the place-name *Snadhyrst* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 216).

SNAYGILL.

Snachehale (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).
Snaghal (Bolton Compotus [1290]).

Snaygill is an obvious corruption, and the probability is that the true M.E. form was *Snachehale*. This would connect the name with O.E. *snaca* = a reptile, snake, and O.E. *halh*, M.E. *hale* = a corner of land. The O.E. form was probably *Snacanhalh* = the corner of land frequented by snakes.

SNYDALE.

Snitehale, Snitehala (D.B., 111, 217 [1086]).

Snithale, Snythale, Snythhall (C.B.K. 35, 36, 54 [circ. 1200]).

Snythale Snytall (K.I., 228, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

Snydale (Y.F., iii., 69 [1586]).

It is obvious that the original termination of Snydale was not 'dale' (O.N. *dalr*, O.E. *dæl* = a valley), but O.E. *halh*, M.E. *hale* = a corner or nook of land. The first element in the name may be O.E. *snite* = a snipe, which gives *Snitanhalh* as the original form of the name, meaning "the corner of land where the snipe breeds."

SOWERBY.

Soureby (C.C.R., i., 403 [1252]).

Soureby (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Sorebi (D.B., 13 [1086]).

This place-name is also found in the North Riding, Lancashire, and Cumberland, and, under the form *Saurby*, in Iceland. The first element is the O.N. *saurr* = dirt, and Cleasby notes in his Icelandic Dictionary that it is frequently used in Icelandic place-names to denote sour soil and swampy tracts of ground. The name Sowerby accordingly indicates "a farm or village situated in badly-drained, swampy soil."

SPOFFORTH.

Spoford (D.B., 134, 223 [1086]).

Spofford (C.C.R., i., 459 [1257]).

Spoford, Spofford (K.I., 45, 49, 203, 349 [1285–1316]).

It is possible that Spofforth derives its name from the O.N. *spói*, Swedish *spof* = a curlew, which would give us the "ford where the curlews congregate" as the meaning of Spofforth. But it is also possible that *Spofford* has arisen out of an earlier *Spotford*, with the assimilation of *tf* to *ff*, as in the case of *Strafford*, from an earlier *Stratford*. This would connect Spofforth with the word 'spot,' used in the sense of 'a small piece of ground,' 'an enclosure.' The origin of the word 'spot' in this sense is somewhat doubtful, but it is closely connected with O.N. *spotti* = a small piece.

SPROTBOROUGH.

Sproteburg (D.B., 26, 119, 213 [1086]).

Sprotteburgh (R.A.G., 3 [1255]).

Sprotteburgh, Sproteburg, Sprotburgh (K.I., 6, 12, 232, 283 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form of Sprotborough was probably *Sprottanburh*, the first element being the O.E. personal name Sprotta, a contracted form of Sprotwulf. Sprot appears as the name of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. Sprotborough accordingly means "the fortified place or manor-house of Sprot, Sprotta, or Sprotwulf."

STACKHOUSE.

Stacuse (D.B., 197 [1086]).

Stachus, Stockhouses (K.I., 21, 200 [1285–1316]).

Stackhouse (V.E., 270 [1535]).

The Domesday Book form *Stackuse* recalls the D.B. *Neuhuse*, which, as already noticed under Newsam, is a contracted form of *Néowum húsum* = at the new houses. The O.E. form of Stackhouse was probably *Stachusum* or *Stocchusum*, or (in the dative singular) *Stocchuse*. The first element in the name is O.E. *staca* = a stake, or the closely allied form *stocc* = a stake, log; to this has been added the dative case, singular or plural, of O.E. *hús* = a house. The meaning is accordingly "at the house (or houses) built of logs," or "at the house (or houses) defended by a stockade."

STAINBOROUGH.

Steinborg (C.C.R., i., 396 [1252]).

Stainburg, Stanburg (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Staynneburgh (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The most primitive of the spellings of Stainborough given above is the *Steinborg* of the Charter Roll, the constituent elements of which are O.N. *steinn* = a stone, and O.N. *borg* = a fortified house. The meaning is "the stone fortress."

STAINBURN.

Stanburne (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Stanburne, Stainburne (D.B., 28, 222 [1086]).

Staynburne (M.F., ii., pt. i., 15 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Steinburn, Staynburn (K.I., 45, 205, 349 [1285–1316]).

The spelling *Stanburne* in the charter of the year 972 shows that the name was originally purely English, and formed out of O.E. *stán* = stone, and O.E. *burne* = a burn. The meaning is "the stony stream." In M.E. times the form *stain*, from O.N. *steinn* = a stone, crept in in the place of the O.E. *stán*.

STAINFORTH (p. Hatfield).

Steinforde, Stenforde (D.B., 127, 128, 205 [1086]).

Steinford (C.C.R., i., 146 [1232]).

Stainford, Staynford (K.I., 3, 359 [1285–1316]).

STAINFORTH (p. Giggleswick).

Stainforde, Stranforde (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Stainforth, Staynford, Staneford (K.I., 21, 201, 355 [1285–1316]).

The first element in Stainforth is apparently Scandinavian, but it is quite possible that it is merely a Scandinavianised form of an O.E. *stán* (see Stainburn). The constituent elements are O.N. *steinn* = a stone, and O.E. *ford*, M.E. *ford*, *forth* = a ford; hence, "the stony ford." The spelling *Stranforde* in the case of Stainforth (p. Giggleswick) is corrupt.

STAINLAND.

Stanland (D.B., 218 [1086]).

Staneland (Y.F., i., 333 [1566]).

Stayneland (Y.F., i., 35 [1519]).

See Stainburn, Stainforth. The meaning is "the stony land," and the first element is either O.E. *stán* or O.N. *steinn*.

STAINLEY (NORTH).

Nordstanlai (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Stainleia (A.G.R., 152 *n.* [1222]).

Staneley (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

STAINLEY (SOUTH).

Stanlei, Stanlei (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

Nederstanele (Y.I., ii., 7 [1283]).

Kirk Stanlee, Kerkestan (K.I., 351, 353 [1285–1316]).

Stainley goes back to O.E. *Stanleah* = the stony meadow, though the modern spelling has been influenced by the O.N. form *steinn*; see Stainburn.

STAINTON.

Stantun, Stantone, Staintone (D.B., 117, 212 [1086]).

Stainton, Staynton (K.I., 3, 11, 365 [1285–1316]).

See the preceding names. The meaning is "the stony enclosure."

STANCILL.

Steineshale (D.B., 205 [1086]).

Stansale, Stansall (K.I., 233, 283, 365 [1285–1316]).

Rob. de Stansel (C.C., 194 [1392]).

The Domesday Book form of Stancill shows that the termination to the name is O.E. *halh* = a corner of land, or, less probably, O.E. *hall* = a hall, mansion. The first part, as the medial *s* in *Steineshale* shows, is a personal name. It is one of the O.N. names compounded with *Stein-*, *e.g.*, Steinulfr, Steingrimr, Steinbjörn, or one of the O.E. names compounded with *Stan-*, *e.g.*, Stanwulf, Stanheard, Stanwine. Among the names of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book we find both Stan and Stain. Stancill accordingly means "the corner of land (or hall) of Stan, Stein, Steinulfr, etc."

STANLEY.

Stanleh (B.C.S., iii., 577 [972]).

Stanlei, Stanleie, 13, 217 [1086]).

Staneley (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

This is a pure English place-name, uninfluenced by the Scandinavian immigration. The full O.E. form is *Stanleah*, and it means "the stony lea."

STANSFIELD.

Stanesfelt (D.B., 13 [1086]).

Stanesfelde (Y.I., i., 103 [1266]).

Stansfeld (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

The medial s in Stansfield, as in Stancill (*q.v.*), points to a personal name, and the meaning of Stansfield is "the field of an Englishman called Stan."

STAPLETON.

Stapleton, Stapletone (D.B., 104 215 [1086]).

Stapeltona (C.C.R., i., 110 [1230]).

Stapelton (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

This is a common name in many parts of England, and the Leicestershire Stapleton appears in Kemble's *Codex* as *Stapiltun* (Nos. 233, 420). The first element is O.E. *stapol*, which means (1) a post, pillar, column ; (2) a threshold, porch. In the name Stapleton it is probable that we have the first of these meanings, and that Stapleton signifies "the enclosure by the post," or "the enclosure surrounded by posts"; *cf.* the following phrase in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1096): "*Swa north to tham thorne thær se stapul stent* (then northwards to the thorn-tree where the 'staple' stands)."

STARBOTTOM or STARBOTTON.

Stauerbot (K.I., 19 [1285–1316]).

Staverbote (C.I.P.M., i., 326 [1326]).

Starbottom (C.B. map [1789]).

Stamphotne (D.B., 196 [1086]).

The D.B. form of this name is clearly erroneous ; it is, as Mr. C. J. Battersby points out to me in an interesting palæographical note, "the product of mis-writing and mis-reading." The termination of this name is in all probability the O.N. word *botn*, which is cognate with the English word 'bottom' and is used to denote the termination of a valley or fiord. If we regard the *v* in *Staverbote* as standing for *u* we may connect the first element in *Staverbote* or *Staverbotn* with the O.N. word *staurr* = a pale, stake. If we accept the *v* as the true sound, we may connect the name with O.N. *stafar*, the nom. pl. form of *stafr* = a staff, post. Starbottom or Starbotton may therefore be "the valley bottom where stakes or posts were driven into the ground."

STAVELEY.

Thos. de Staflea (P.R., xi., 86 [1167]).

Alice de Stavele (Y.I., i., 25 [1251]).

Staveley (K.I., 211, 353 [1285–1316]).

Stanlei, Stanleia (D.B., 181, 221 [1086]).

Domesday Book substitutes, by a scribal error, *n* for *v* in this name, and there can be no doubt that *Staflea*, *Staveley* are the true M.E. forms. They probably go back to O.E. *Stæfleah*, in which the first element is O.E. *stæf* = a staff, stick, post. The meaning of Staveley would accordingly be "the meadow by the post"; *cf.* *Stafford*, O.E. *Stæfford*, = the ford by the post, and see Stapleton.

STEETON (par. Kildwick).

Stiuetune (D.B., 162 [1086]).

Stiveton (C.C.R., i., 343 [1249]).

Stiveton, Styveton (K.I., 24, 218, 289 [1285–1316]).

Steveton (P.T. [1379]).

Steton (V.E., 72 [1535]).

STEETON (par. Bolton Percy).

Stiuetune, Stiueton (D.B., 130, 174, 206 [1086]).

Stiveton, the M.E. form of Steeton, is probably formed out of the O.E. adjective *stíf* = stiff, rigid, with the addition of O.E. *tún* = an enclosure, field, farm. The meaning is "an enclosure of land the soil of which is stiff and clinging, not easily worked." The O.E. form of the name would be *se stífa tún, on thém stífan túne*. With the development of M.E. *Stiveton* into *Steveton*, and thence into Steeton, *cf.* the development of *Witheton* into Weeton and *Smitheton* into Smeaton, and see Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik* § 114.

STIRTON.

Hugh de Strettuna (P.C., 136 [1159]).

Stretton (K.I., 13, 192, 194 [1285–1316]).

Stretton (P.T. [1379]).

Stirton is obviously a metathesized form of *Stretton*, which is formed out of O.E. *strét*, the Mercian and Northumbrian form of West-Saxon *stræt* = a paved road, from the Latin *strata via*. Stretton means, therefore, "the enclosure by the Roman road." See Sturton.

STOCK.

Stoche (D.B. 197 [1086]).

Rob. de Stocke (Y.I., i., 87 [1260]).

Stok (K.I., 15 [1285–1316]).

This name is derived from the O.E word *stocc*, which means "a stock, log, tree-stump." The name indicates, therefore, the felling of trees, and we may interpret "Rob. de Stocke" as "Robert of the place where the land has been cleared of trees"; *cf.* Stockton, and see Stubbs Walden.

STOTFOLD.

Stodfald, Stotfalde, Stofald (D.B., 68, 121, 214 [1086]).

Stodefald (C.C.R., i., 382 [1252]).

Matt de Stodfalde (Y.I., ii., 56 [1287]).

Stodfold (K.I., 11 [1285–1316]).

Stódfald is an O.E. word signifying "a stud-fold" or "paddock," the elements out of which it is formed being O.E. *stód* = a stud of horses, and O.E. *fald* = a fold, cattle-pen, paddock. The change of *fald* to *fold* is identical with that of O.E. *ald* to Mod. E. *old*, and the voiceless consonant *f* has led to the substitution of the voiceless *t* for the voiced *d*—*Stodfald* > *Stotfald* > *Stotfold*.

STREETTHORPE (near Doncaster).

Stirestorp (D.B., 127, 128 [1086]).

Will. de Stirestrop (P.T. [1379]).

Styrsthorp (Y.F., iii., 12 [1583]).

Streetthorpe (Hunter's "History of Doncaster," i., 204 [1828]).

Streetthorpe is a corruption of an earlier *Stiresthorp*, in which the first element is the Scandinavian personal name Styrr. There was a Stir or Styrr who was "major domus" to King Harthacnut in the eleventh century, while the compound forms Styrbjörn, Styrmær, and Styrcar are found in O.E. and O.N. records. The meaning of Streetthorpe is accordingly "the village of Styrr." In Norway the name Styrr enters into the formation of the place-names Styrsrud, Styrsvik, and Styrseng; see Rygh, *op. cit.*, p. 238-9.

STUBBS WALDEN.

Stubbes, Stobbes (A.G.R., 35, 115 [1230]).

Stubbes (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Stubbyswaldyng (Y.D., 159 [1452]).

Stubbes Walden (Y.F., iii., 105 [1588]).

Eistop, Istop (D.B., 103, 215 [1086]).

Stub in Dorsetshire appears as *Styb* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 447), and indicates that the origin of the place-name Stub or Stubbs is O.E. *stybb*, *stubb* = a stump of a tree, a stub. Stubbs means accordingly "the tree-stumps," *i.e.*, a piece of land once forest, but on which the trees have been felled close to the ground. The name Walden in Stubbs Walden has developed out of the family name Waldyng, Walding, borne by the lords of the manor of Stubbs in the thirteenth century (see *Pontefract Chartulary*, pp. 322 *n.*, 327).

STUB HOUSE (par. Harewood).

Stubusun Stubushu' (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Stubhus (T.N., 364 [13th cent.]).

Hen. de Stubhus (Y.I., i., 91 [1263]).

Stubbes (K.I., 41 [1285–1316]).

See the last name. The O.E. form would be *æt thǽm stubbhusum* = (at the) houses by the tree-stumps.

STUBBING FARM (par. Otley).

Stube (D.B., 40, 210 [1086]).

Stubbyng (Y.F., i., 378 [1570]).

Stubbinge House (Kn. W., i., 194 [1593]).

Stubbing is clearly a derivative from Stubb (O.E. *stubb, stybb* = a tree-stump). The meaning is probably " the place where the trees have been stubbed."

STUDLEY (ROYAL).

Stodlay, Stodeley, Studley Magna (K.I., 331, 435 [1285–1316]).

Stodleye (Y.I., ii., 108 [1290]).

Stollai, Stollei (D.B., 132, 182, 194, 221 [1086]).

The D.B. forms *Stollai* and *Stollei* show the assimilation by Norman scribes of *dl* to *ll*. The O.E. form of Studley would be *Stodleah*, which is the form in which Studley (Hants.) appears in two charters of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 342, 1077). If the vowel in O.E. *Stodleah* was long, the meaning would be " the meadow of the stud of horses " (*cf.* Stotfold) ; if short, we must associate Studley with O.E. *stod* = a post ; hence, " the meadow by the post."

STURTON GRANGE (par. Aberford).

Stretun, Stretune (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

Sturton, Styrton (V.E., 174, 198 [1535]).

Sturton is identical in origin, and in subsequent sound-change, with Stirton (*q.v.*). Here the ' street ' or paved road which gives its name to the O.E. *tún*, or enclosure, is the Roman road between Doncaster and Tadcaster.

STUTTON.

Stutun, Stutone, Stouetun (D.B., 129, 178, 204, 211 [1086]).

Stutton (K.I., 345 [1285–1316]).

Stutton (Y.F., i., 101 [1542]).

I am disposed to connect Stutton with the O.E. *stút* = a gnat, and to regard the meaning of the name as " the enclosure infested with gnats " ; *cf.* Midgley, *i.e.* the meadow infested with midges.

SUTTON (par. Kildwick).

Sutun (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Sutton (K.I., 14, 191 [1285–1316]).

SUTTON (par. Campsall).

Sutone (D.B., 102, 215 [1086]).

SUTTON (near Ripon).

Sudton, Sudtunen (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Sutton is one of the commonest English place-names. The original O.E. form was *Suthtun* = the south enclosure, the south farm. The D.B. spelling *Sudtunen*, for Sutton in the parish of Ripon, points to the O.E. dat. plural form *Sudtunum* = at the south enclosures.

SWETTON.

Suatune, Swalun (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

Swettem (Y.I., iii., 155, 163 [1301]).

Sweton, Swatton (V.E., 92, 253 [1535]).

Swetton (Y.F., i., 130 [16th cent.]).

Disregarding the D.B. form *Swalun*, there still remains considerable difficulty in determining the original form of Swetton. It may be that the first element is O.E. *swéte* = sweet, pure, and that the place owes its name, "the sweet field," to the purity of the water in some spring or stream within the original field. Or it may be that the first element is O.E. *swæth* = a footprint, track, which gives the meaning "a field with a track across it."

SWILLINGTON.

Swynlington, Swylingtone (R.W.W., 32, 43 [1279–1285]).

Swinlington, Swynlyngton, Swillyngton, Swilington (K.I., 35 208, 286, 348 [1285–1316]).

Swinlentona (Crawford Charters, p. 34 [1150]).

Suillintun, Suilligtune, Suillictun (D.B., 97, 210 [1086]).

The modern form Swillington has clearly developed out of an earlier *Swinlington*, and I am disposed to trace this back to an O.E. *Swinwulfingatun* = the enclosure of the sons of Swinwulf. The name Swinwulf is recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, and the evolution of the name would be somewhat as follows: *Swinwulfingatun* > *Swinolfingetun* > *Swinolingtun* > *Swinlington* > *Swillington*.

SWINDEN.

Suindene (D.B., 135 [1086]).

Swynden (C.C.R., ii., 233 [1280]).

Swynden, Swindon (K.I., 17, 200, 355 [1285–1316]).

Swinden means "the swine valley," its constituent parts being O.E. *swín* = swine, pig, and O.E. *denu* = a valley; *cf.* the names *Swinbroc, Swindun, Swynburne,* in the Index to Kemble's *Codex.*

SWINTON (par. Wath).

Suintone, Swintone (D.B., 119, 213 [1086]).

Swynton (C.C.R., ii., 235 [1280]).

Swinton, Swynton (K.I., 4, 7, 11, 232 [1285–1316]).

See the last name. The O.E. form of Swinton would be *Swintun* = the enclosure for pigs, the swine-farm.

TADCASTER.

Calcaria (Antonine's Itinerary [100–200]).

Kælkacæstir (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv., 23 [731]).

Tada (A.-S. Chronicle (c) [1066]).

Tatecastre (D.B., 129, 204, 212 [1086]).

Tatecastre, Tadcastre (C.C.R., ii., 163, 176 [1271]).

Taddecastre, Tadcastre (K.I., 48, 214, 284, 346 [1285–1316]).

It seems probable that Tadcaster received its Roman name *Calcaria* from the fact that it is situated on the narrow belt of magnesian limestone which runs from Tynemouth to Nottingham. This at least was the view of the early English settlers who gave to the place the name *Kælkacæstir, i.e.*, the limestone fortress (O.E., *cælc, calc, cealc* = chalk, lime). By the eleventh century, however, this name seems to have been lost, and for it was substituted *Tadanceaster, Tadancæster,* or, more briefly, *Tada. Tadancæster* means, apparently, "the 'chester,' or Roman camp, of an Englishman called Tada." The name Tada, of which the German form Tado is recorded by Förstemann in his *Altdeutsches Namenbuch,* was apparently a nickname formed from O.E. *táde* = a toad. See Tanshelf, and *cf. Tadanleah* (K.C.D., 603) = Tadley (Hants.).

TANKERSLEY.

Thankerleia (Crawford Charters, p. 34 [1150]).

Tancreslei, Tancresleia (D.B., 70, 216 [1086]).

Hen. de Tancreslay (P.C., 354 [1238]).

Tankeresley (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Tankerley (C.C.R., iii., 46 [1304]).

There can be little doubt that the name Tankersley goes back to an original *Thancheresleah*, *Thancrædesleah*, or *Thanchardesleah*, *i.e.*, the lea of Thanchere, Thancræd, Thanchard. These names are commonly met with, together with other compounds of *Thanc-*, in Low German records, but are, curiously enough, entirely absent from English ones; the substitution of *t* for *th* in Tankersley is probably the result of Norman-French influences. The name Thancheri appears in the Necrologium of St. Fulda's monastery under the date 850, while the village of Tancarville in Normandy owes its name to Tancred (Thancræd).

TANSHELF.

Taddenesscylf (A.-S. Chron. (D) [947]).

Tanshelf (C.C.R., i., 472 [1257]).

Tanshelf, Tanshell, Tanshall (V.E., 65, 66 [1535]).

Tateshalle, Tateshale, Tatesselle (D.B., 106, 109, 111, 216 [1086]).

We may regard the D.B. spellings of this name as later and somewhat corrupt forms of the *Taddenesscylf* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The meaning of *Taddenesscylf* is apparently "the crag or ledge of rock of a man called Taddene. This name is not found elsewhere in early records, though the compound Tædaldus, *i.e.*, O.E. Tædweald, Tadweald, is found in Domesday Book. The name seems to be compounded out of O.E. *táde* = a toad, and O.E. *Dene* = a Dane. See Tadcaster.

THORLBY.

Thorledby, Thorleby (C.I.P.M., i., 261 [1315]).

Thorleby, Torlebi (K.I., 13, 196 [1285–1316]).

Thoralby (V.E., 3, 92 [1535]).

Toredderebi, Torederebi (D.B., 29, 224 [1086]).

The Domesday Book spellings of this name are more or less misleading, and it is probable that the forms *Thoralby* and *Thorledby* point back to the O.N. personal name Thorvaldr, which appears as Thorald on a coin of the eleventh century, and is the familiar modern English name Thorold. The D.B. forms point to the O.N. name Thoroddr, but this could not develop into modern Thorlby. The meaning of Thorlby is accordingly "the farm of Thorvaldr."

THORNE.

Torne (D.B., 127, 128 [1086]).

Nich. de Thorne (Y.I., i., 171 [1276]).

Thorn (V.E., 254 [1535]).

Thorne takes its name from some hawthorn-tree which served as a landmark. The O.E. way of describing the spot would be *æt thém thorne* = at the thorn-tree.

THORNER.

Thornofre, Thornovre (C.B.K., 135, 136 [before 1218]).

Tornoure, Torneure (D.B., 98, 204, 210 [1086]).

Thornoure, Thorenour, Thornor (K.I., 39, 40, 208, 348 [1285–1316]).

Thornor (C.C.R., iii., 182 [1311]).

The spelling *Thornofre* in the Kirkstall Coucher Book is also the O.E. spelling of Thorner. The constituent elements are O.E. *thorn* = the thorn-tree, and O.E. *ófer* (dat. *ófre*) = border, margin, edge, river-bank. The meaning of the O.E. phrase *æt thém thornofre* would be "at the territorial boundary marked by the thorn-tree."

THORNHILL.

Tornil, Torni (D.B., 113, 217 [1086]).

Thornhill, Thornhull (K.I., 229, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

Thornehill (Y.F., ii., 35 [1573]).

The O.E. form of Thornhill would be *Thornhyll*, and the place owes its name to its situation on the side of a hill on which a thorn-tree grew.

THORNTON (Bishop).

Torentune, Torentone (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Thorentun (R.A.G., 55 [1267]).

Thornton (K.I., 331 [1285–1316]).

THORNTON (par. Bradford).

Torentune, Torentone (D.B., 114, 116, 218 [1086]).

Thornton (K.I., 226, 361 [1285–1316]).

THORNTON-IN-CRAVEN.

Torentun (D.B., 135, 197 [1086]).

Thornton (P.T. [1379]).

THORNTON-IN-LONSDALE.

Thornetun (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Thorneton, Thornton [K.I., 278, 362 [1285–1316]).

The forms *Thorentun* and *Torentun* show the development of an *e* between the *r* and the *n* in the pronunciation of this name by French officials. The O.E. form was *Thorntun* and the meaning is "the enclosure by the thorn-tree."

THORP ARCH.

Torp (D.B., 175, 219 [1086]).

Thorpe de Archis (Y.I., i., 146, 204 [1274]).

Thorpe Arche, Arches, D'Arch', (K.I., 25, 219, 290, 342 [1285–1316]).

THORPE AUDLIN.

Torp (D.B., 103, 215 [1086]).

Thorp (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Thorp Audelyn (P.T. [1379]).

THORPE SALVIN.

Torp (D.B., 117, 212 [1086]).

Thorp Salvayne, Rikenildthorp (K.I., 3, 11, 233, 365 [1285–1316]).

Thorpsalvayne (P.T. [1379]).

THORPE GREEN.

Tuadestorp (D.B., 155, 220 [1086]).

THORPE STAPLETON.

Torp (D.B., 98, 210 [1086]).

Thorp Stapelton, Thorp sub Rothwell Hawgth (K.I., 34, 210, 288 [1285–1316]).

Thorp Stapilton (P.T. [1379]).

THORPE UNDERWOOD.

Torp (D.B., 164, 220 [1086]).

THORPE WILLOUGHBY.

Torp (D.B., 99, 211 [1086]).

Thorpe, Thorp Wilughby, Wyleby (K.I., 213, 284, 383, 400 [1285–1316]).

Thorp Wyliby (P.T. [1379]).

The name Thorp, as already indicated, is from O.E. or O.N. *thorp* = a village. Thorp Arch preserves the name of the Norman

family, de Archis. Gilbertus de Archis and Herebertus de Archis were large landholders in Yorkshire in the Norman period. The names Salvin or Salveyn, Stapleton, and Willoughby are also names of old Yorkshire families; (see Kirkby's Inquest, and Visitations of Yorkshire, 1584 and 1612). *Rikenildthorp*, a Middle English variant of Thorpe Salvin, has as its first element a personal name which appears as Regenhild in O.E., Ragnhildr in O.N., and Regnild in O.D.

THRESHFIELD.

Threscefeld, Threshefeld, Thressefeld, Thresfeld (M.F., ii., pt. i., 16, 25, 28, 35 [temp. Ric. I.]).

Treskefelde (Y.I., i., 70 [1259]).

Threschefeld, Thresfeld (K.I., 20, 202, 355 [1285–1316]).

Freschefelt (D.B., 29, 162 [1086]).

The Domesday Book form of this name shows the substitution of initial *f* for *th*. There seems no reason to doubt that the name Threshfield is what it appears to be—"the field where the corn was threshed." The modern verb 'to thresh' goes back through M.E. *threshen* to O.E. *therscan*, and the O.N. form, which appears in the spelling *Treskefeld*, is *threskja*.

THRUSCROSS.

Thorescrosse (K.I., 353 [1285–1316]).

Thorescross (C.I.P.M., i., 159 [1300]).

Thurescrosse (P.T. [1379]).

Thruscross is a metathesized form of *Thurscross* or *Thorscross*. The name is Scandinavian, and means "Thor's cross." There is no need to connect the name directly with the Scandinavian god Thorr, for Thor is frequently found among the names of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book. The second element in the name is O.N. *kross*, which is from the Latin *crux*, *crucem*, through the Old Irish *cros*; and the meaning of Thruscross is accordingly "the cross, set up as a symbol of the Christian faith, by a man called Thor."

THRYBERGH.

Triberga, Triberge (D.B., 131, 214 [1086]).

Tribergh (C.C.R., ii., 29 [1260]).

Trebergh, Tribergh, Triberg, Tryberg (K.I., 6, 10, 230, 281, 358 [1285–1316]).

Thrybergh means apparently "the three hills," and is formed out of O.E. *thréo*, *thrío*, *thrí* = three, and O.E. *beorg*, plur. *beorgas* = a hill, hills; *cf.* *Thrymyrce* (B.C.S., 335) = the three boundaries, and *Siebengebirge* (= the seven mountains) in Germany.

THURGOLAND.

Turgarland (P.C., 19, 26, 104 [1090–1122]).

Turgesland (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Thurkerland (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Rad. de Turkerlanda (P.C., 439 [n.d.]).

Thurgoland (Y.F., ii., 69 [1575]).

Thurgoland owes its name to the O.N. personal name Thorgeirr, and the meaning is accordingly "the land or domain of Thorgeirr." Thorgeirr, anglicised to Thorgar or Thurgar, appears in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 785) in the name *Thurgartun* (=Thurgarton, Norfolk). Torgersrud, and Torgestveit in modern Norway preserve the same name.

THURLSTONE.

Turulfestune, Turolueston (D.B., 109, 216 [1086]).

Thurlestone (Y.I., ii., 52 [1286]).

Thurleston (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

The spelling of Thurlstone in Domesday Book shows that the name goes back to the O.N. personal name Thorolfr, which was anglicised to Thurulf and Thorulf; the meaning of Thurlstone is therefore "the enclosure (O.E., O.N. *tún*) of Thorolfr." Domesday Book records a *Turolfbi*, *Turolvebi*, and *Turolvesbi*, all of which are in Lincolnshire, and all of which are now spelt Thurlby.

THURNSCOE.

Thirnesco (A.G.R., 62 [1223]).

Thirnescogh, Thirnescowe, Thirneschoch, Tyrinsco (K.I., 10, 231, 282, 359 [1285–1316]).

Ternusc, Ternusche, Dermescop (D.B., 68, 120, 130, 214 [1086]).

This is a Scandinavian name, and the variation of form seen above shows that its constituent elements sounded somewhat strange in clerkly ears. It is formed from the two O.N. words *thyrnir* = a thorn-tree, and *skógr* = a wood, shaw. The full form in O.N. would be *Thyrniskogr*, and the meaning is "the wood or copse of thorn-trees."

THURSTANLAND.

Thurstanland (C.B.S., i., 367 [n.d.]).

Thurstanland (P.T. [1379]).

Tostenland (D.B., 217 [1086]).

Thurwistandland (K.I., 351 [1285–1316]).

This name is derived from the O.N. personal name Thorsteinn, which was anglicised to Thurstan already in O.E. times. The meaning is accordingly "Thorsteinn's land." The spelling *Thurwistandland* looks like an amalgamation of the two names Thorsteinn and Thurwig, but it lacks support.

TICKHILL.

Dadeslei, Dadesleia (D.B., 117, 212 [1086]).

Tikehul (C.C.R., i., 146 [1232]).

Tikhile (Y.I., i., 33 [1252]).

Tykhill (K.I., 365 [1285–1316]).

Tickhill is an instance of a place which has changed its name within the Middle-English period. The Domesday Book form, *Dadeslei*, derives its first element from one of the O.E. personal names compounded with *Dǽd-*, *e.g.*, Dædwine, Dædwulf; and the meaning of *Dadeslei* is therefore "the meadow of Dædwine or Dædwulf." The name Tickhill introduces the O.E. personal name Tica, recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, and entering into the formation of the place-name Ticknall (Derby), which is spelt *Ticenheal* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 710, 1298). The termination of Tickhill is O.E. *hyll* = a hill, and the meaning of the name is therefore "the hill of Tica."

TIMBLE.

Timble (D.B., 14, 222 [1086]).

Timbel (P.R., viii., 51 [1165]).

Timble Brian, Timble Percy (C.I.P.M., i., 159 [1300]).

The etymology of this name is somewhat uncertain. In an eighth century charter of Ecgberht of Kent (K.C.D., 113) *Tymbel* appears as the name of one of the signatories. It is therefore possible that Timble has undergone the same kind of contraction as Adel, and goes back to an original *Tymblesleah* or *Timblanleah* = the meadow of Tymbel or Tymbla. But in another of Kemble's Charters (No. 506) mention is made of a place in Staffordshire called *Timan hyl*, which apparently means "the hill of a man called Tima"; and it is quite possible for *Timan hyl* to develop into *Timbel* and modern Timble.

TINSLEY.

Tineslauue, Tirneslauue (D.B., 118, 212 [1086]).

Hen. de Tynneslawe, Tunneslowe (Y.I., ii., 12, 142 [1284]).

Tinneslawe, Tynneslawe (K.I., 4, 365 [1285–1316]).

Tynneslawe (V.E., 62 [1535]).

Tinsley (C.B. map [1789]).

Tinsley, like Ardsley (*q.v.*), has given up the O.E. termination *hláw*, *hléw* = a hill, for O.E. *léah* = a clearing, lea. As to the first element in the name, little importance should, I think, be attached to the unsupported form *Tirnes* in the D.B. spelling *Tirneslauue*. It is possible that Tinsley derives its name from a personal name Tunne or Tynne, which is probably connected with the theme *Tun-* which appears in the O.E. compounds Tunbeorht, Tunfrith, Tungils, and with the weak forms, Tuna, Tunna; see these names in Searle's *Onomasticon*.

TOCKWITH.

Tocvi (D.B., 176 [1086]).

Tokewith, Tokewyth, Tocwith (K.I., 29, 222, 290, 342 [1285–1316]).

Tokwith, Tocwyd, Tokwit (C.C.R., iii., 151, 158 159 [1310]).

This is a Scandinavian name, the first element being the O.N. personal name Toki, while the termination is O.N. *vithr* = a tree, wood. The meaning is accordingly "the tree or wood of Toki." Toc and Tochi appear as the names of Yorkshire landholders in Domesday Book, and the name Toca is found in a grant of land to the monks of Kirkstall (see Kirkstall Coucher Book, p. 125). It is the modern name Tooke, as in Horne Tooke. In Norway we find it in the place-names Tokerud, Tokstad, Tokenes.

TODWICK.

Tateuuic (D.B., 68, 214 [1086]).

Tatewich (C.C.R., iii., 302 [1316]).

Totewyk (C.C.R., ii., 489 [1300]).

Totewyk, Tottewyk (K.I., 6, 9, 230, 359 [1285–1316]).

Todwike (V.E., 41 [1535]).

It is probable that the O.E. form of this name was *Tatanwic*, which means the "dwelling-place of Tata." The name Tata is frequently met with in O.E. charters, as are also the compounds Tatbeorht, Tatfrith, Tatwine, etc. We also find it entering into the composition of the place-names *Tatanbroc* and *Tatanbeorh*, which find a place in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 714, 366). Strictly speaking, however, the name is not English but High German, and the ancestors of Tata, Tatwine, and Tatbeorht must originally have come from South Germany. Moreover, the change from *Tatanwic* to Todwick is not normal, and it is probable that the name Tata became mixed up with that of Toda, which appears in the unidentified place-name *Todanbricg* of Birch's *Cartularium* (No. 776).

TONG.

Ric. de Tanga (P.R., xi., 83 [1167]).

Tanga, Tange, Tonge (C.B.K., 175, 205, 317 [n.d.]).

Tonge, Tong (K.I., 30, 225, 360 [1285–1316]).

Tuinc (D.B., 114, 218 [1086]).

There are several places of this name in England, and it also enters freely into the formation of compounds, *e.g.*, Tongland, Tongham, Tangham, Garstang. It takes its origin either from the O.N. *tangi* = a tongue of land, a point projecting into a sea or river, or from the cognate O.N. *tunga* = a tongue of land formed by the meeting of two streams. The situation of Tong near the junction of two streams which feed the Aire points to the O.N. *tunga*, but the spelling *Tanga* in the Pipe Roll and the Kirkstall Coucher Book favours O.N. *tangi*. The probability is that the two words *tangi* and *tunga* became more or less interchangeable as to their use. The D.B. spelling *Tuinc* is erroneous, but Tonge in Leicestershire appears in D.B. as *Tunge*.

TOULSTON.

Toglestun, Togelestun, Togleston (D.B., 66, 178, 204, 212 [1086]).

Tolleston (K.I., 50 [1285–1316]).

Touleston (C.C.R., iii., 153 [1210]).

The Domesday Book forms of this name show that it owes its origin to the O.N. personal name Toglos, and means "the enclosure of Toglos." The Parker MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells of a Scandinavian jarl Toglos who was slain in the year 921 at the siege of Tempsford. The name reappears in an unidentified *Tugelesmor* (Somerset), in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 774).

TOWTON.

Touetun (D.B., 211 [1086]).

Toueton, Touteton (K.I., 215, 285 [1285–1316]).

Towton (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in Towton is probably identical with that in Towthorpe in the East Riding, which appears as *Touetorp* in Domesday Book. I am disposed to connect it with the Scandinavian personal name Tofi, which appears under the forms Tofig, Tovi, and Toui in the charters of Kemble and Birch's collections, and also in Domesday Book. Towton may accordingly mean "the enclosure of Tofi"; *cf.* Toverud, in Norway.

TREETON.

Treetone, Tretone (D.B., 68, 214 [1086]).

Treton, Tretthon (K.I., 6, 9, 230 [1285–1316?]).

Treton (C.C.R., iii., 289 [1315]).

The meaning of Treeton is "the enclosure by the tree," the first element being O.E. *tréow*, *tréo* = a tree.

TUDWORTH (par. Hatfield).

Tudeforde, Tudeuuorde (D.B., 127, 205 [1086]).

The first element in Tudworth is the O.E. personal name Tuda or Tudda. Both these names are found in O.E. records, and they enter into the composition of the unidentified place-names *Tuddanham* and *Tudanhæc* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 272, 685). The termination is O.E. *wurth* = a dwelling-place, and the meaning of Tudworth is accordingly "the dwelling-place of Tuda or Tudda." The termination *-ford* in the D.B. spelling *Tudeforde* is probably erroneous.

TYERSALL (par. Calverley).

Hen. de Thiversold (R.A.G., 279 [1275]).

Tyversolde (R.W.W., 75 [1280]).

Teversholte (V.E., 155 [1535]).

Teversall (V.E., 159 [1535]).

Teresale (K.I., 226 [1286–1316]).

Tirissale, Tyrissale, Tyrsale (C.B.K., 4, 43 [1267]).

This is a difficult name. The spellings given above show a good deal of variation in the forms of the first element and of the termination. The latter may be (1) O.E. *halh* = a corner; (2) O.E. *hall* = a hall; (3) O.E. *holt* = a wood; (4) M.E. *hold* = a hold, stronghold. The first element may be (1) O.N. *tifor*, O.E. *tifer* = a victim, which may have been used as a personal name; (2) O.E. *thiofhere*, *théofhere* = an army of thieves, which, like Huthhere (see Huddersfield), might also be used as a personal name; (3) if we disregard the form *Thiversold*, we may, as Mr. C. J. Battersby points out to me, associate the first element in Tyersall with that of Teversham in Cambridgeshire, which Prof. Skeat interprets as "the home of Tefere or Teofhere." The objection to this is that there is no such name as Teofhere recorded in old English documents, nor is there any such O.E. word as *téof*. Further, the name Tankersley shows us that it is possible for O.E. initial *th* to pass, under Norman-French influence, into *t*, so that I am inclined to trace Tyersall to O.E. *Thiofhereshald*, *i.e.*, the stronghold of an army of thieves, or, more probably, of a man called Thiofhere; *cf.* Terrington in the North Riding, which appears as *Teurinctun* in Domesday Book, and may contain the patronymic form of the personal name Thiofhere.

UGHILL (par. Ecclesfield).

Ughill (D.B., 121, 215 [1086]).

Ughill (Y.F., i., 76 [1536]).

The hard *g* sound in Ughill indicates the Scandinavian origin of the first element in this name, though the termination is English (O.E. *hyll* = a hill). Uggr or Yggr appears as one of the names of the god Odin in the *Edda*, and it may be that Ughill is the hill of Uggr, *i.e.*, of Odin, or of a person who bore the divine name ; *cf.* Ugthorpe in the North Riding, which is spelt *Ughetorp* in Domesday Book, in which the first element may be the weak form Uggi or Ugga.

ULLESKELF.

Thos. de Ulfescelfe, Uskelf (Y.I., i., 42, 66 [1254]).

Ulfskelf (C.C.R., iii., 2 [1301]).

Ulskelf (K.I., 368, 399 [1285–1316]).

Ulskelf (P.T. [1379]).

Oleschel, Oleslec ((D.B., 40, 211 [1086]).

The Domesday Book spelling of this name is corrupt, but the forms *Ulfeskelf* and *Ulfskelf* connect Ulleskelf with the Scandinavian personal name Ulfr or Ulf. The name occurs frequently in the charters of Birch and Kemble's collections, and in the Yorkshire Domesday Book ; and it appears on an O.E. dial in the south wall of the nave of Aldborough church. It is very commonly met with in Norwegian place-names, *e.g.*, Ulsrud, Ulsnes, Ulsgaard, etc. The termination is O.N. *skjalf* = a shelf, ledge, seat, and the meaning of the whole is therefore " the ledge or seat of Ulfr."

ULLEY.

Ulflay (T. de N., 364 [13th cent.]).

Ulley, Ullay (K.I., 6, 9, 230 [1285–1316]).

Ullay (P.T. [1379]).

Ollei, Olleie (D.B., 69, 214 [1086]).

The spelling *Ulflay* for Ulley in the *Testa de Neville* connects Ulley with the place-name Ulleskelf (*q.v.*). But in the case of Ulley, the original form was probably not O.N. *Ulfr* but one of the personal names compounded with Ulf. *e.g.*, Ulfkell, Ulfhildr, Ulfgrimr, all of which might be contracted to Ulfi, Ulfa. It is probable that Ulley goes back to an O.E. *Ulfanleah*, with which we may compare the *Ulfantreow* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 440); the meaning of Ulley is " the clearing of a person whose name was Ulfa, or one of the Ulf- compounds."

UPTON (par. Badsworth).

Uptone, Ultone (D.B., 103, 215 [1086]).

Uppetone (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Upton (P.T. [1379]).

This is a common English place-name, and appears as *Uptun* in various charters of Kemble and Birch. The meaning is "the enclosure on high ground." the first syllable being O.E. *up* = up, upwards.

UTLEY.

Utelai (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Utteley (K.I., 16 [1285–1316]).

Ric. de Utlay (P.T. [1379]).

The origin of the name is not quite certain. It may come from O.E. *Uttanleah* = the meadow of Utta, a name found in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, or from O.E. *Utanleah* = the outer meadow, where the first element is O.E. *útan* = outside, without.

WADDINGTON.

Wadington, Waddington (K.I., 17, 197, 354 [1285–1316]).

Wadyngton (P.T. [1379]).

Widitun (D.B., 198 [1086]).

The Domesday Book form of this name may be disregarded. *Wadington* is the true M.E. form, and goes back to O.E. *Wadingtun* or *Wadingatun*, which means "the enclosure of Wada, or of the sons of Wada." Wada, which exists to-day as Wade, is a common O.E. personal name, and the patronymic *Wading* appears again in Waddingham and Waddington (Lincs.).

WADSLEY.

Wadesleia, Wadelei (D.B., 121, 215 [1086]).

Wadeley (P.Q.W., 191 [1279]).

Waddesley (Y.F., ii., 20 [1572]).

Wadsley points back through M.E. *Wadeslei* to O.E. *Wadesleah*, the meaning of which is "the lea or meadow of Wade." This is the strong form of O.E. Wada; its genitive case is *Wades*, while that of Wada is *Wadan*. Confusion between the two forms naturally arose, and hence we have in Domesday Book *Wadesleia* and *Wadelei*, corresponding to O.E. *Wadesleah* and *Wadanleah* respectively.

WADSWORTH.

Wadesuurde (D.B., 13 [1086]).

Adam de Waddesworthe (Y.I., i., 165 [1276]).

Waddeworth (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

WADWORTH.

Wadeuurde, Wadeuorde (D.B., 117, 205, 212 [1086]).

Waddeworde (Y.I., i., 175 [1277]).

Waddeworth, Waddesworth, Wadworth (K.I., 2, 9, 233, 283 [1285–1316]).

The two names may be taken together, and the difference between them has already been explained under *Wadsley*. The meaning of Wadsworth is "the lea of Wade"; that of Wadworth, "the lea of Wada."

WAKEFIELD.

Wachefeld, Wachefelt, Wachf' (D.B., 13, 14, 27, 205 [1086]).

Will de Wakefeld (R.A.G., 195 [1270]).

Wakefeld (K.I., 228, 352 [1285–1316]).

Wakefeud (C.C., 79 [1303]).

Wakfeld (C.B.K., 5 [1336]).

There can be little doubt that the first element in Wakefield is ultimately connected with the root of the O.E. words *wacu* = a watch, vigil, *wacan* = to awake, and *wæccan* = to watch. But the probability is that the place-name is immediately derived from an O.E. personal name Waca. The O.E. form of Wakefield would accordingly be *Wacanfeld*. In Kemble's *Codex* (No. 597) we find the name *Waccanham*, in a charter of King Edgar, which may mean the home—or enclosure—of Wacca, but the fact that in Wakefield the back palatal sound *k* has been preserved, indicates that its O.E. form was *Wacanfeld*, not *Waccanfeld*. The familiar name 'Hereward the Wake' shows that a man distinguished by his alertness might well receive the nick-name Waca, *i.e.*, the watchful one.

WALDERSHELFE (par. Ecclesfield).

Waldershelf (C.C.R., ii., 353 [1290]).

Waldershaugh (C.C.R., iii., 107 [1307]).

John de Waldershelf (Y.A.T.J., v., 121 [1380]).

Waldershelf (Y.F., i., 225, 240 [1559]).

Sceuelt (D.B., 27, 215 [1086]).

In Waldershelf the first element is the heroic name Waldere, the hero of the Waldere saga (see Introduction, p. xxvii.). There is some uncertainty as to the ending; the forms *Waldershaugh* and *Waldersheugh* point to O.N. *haugr* = a hill, how, heugh, but the modern form points to O.E. *scelf*, *scilf* = a crag, peak. The meaning of Waldershelf is therefore "the crag or hill of Waldere." The D.B. spelling of this place-name is curious, and I leave it without comment.

WALES.

Wales, Walis, Walise (D.B., 69, 117, 212, 214 [1086]).

Wales, Weles (K.I., 5, 365 [1285–1316]).

Wales (P.T. [1379]).

It is probable that the modern name Wales corresponds to the O.E. *Wealas*, which means (1) the Welsh people, (2) Wales. The name Wales might readily be given by English neighbours to an estate cultivated by a family of British descent. See Walton.

WALKINGHAM.

Walchingeha', Walchingha', (D.B., 14, 221 [1086]).

Walkingham (Y.I., iii., 131 [1300]).

Walkyngham (V.E., 154 [1535]).

The name Walkingham may be compared with the fuller form Walkeringham (Notts.). It is probable that both names take their origin from the O.E. personal name Wealhhere, also spelt Walchere. The full O.E. form would accordingly be *Wealhheringaham* or *Walcheringaham*, which means "the home of the sons of Wealhhere." Förstemann records the Old German place-name *Walkerslegen*, formed out of the personal name Walchar or Walahheri, the Old German form of O.E. Wealhhere.

WALTON (Ainsty).

Waletune, Waleton (D.B., 175, 206, 207 [1086]).

Waleton, Walleton, Walthon (C.C.R., iii., 49, 147, 152 [1304]).

Walton (K.I., 25, 220 [1285–1316]).

WALTON (p. Sandal).

Waleton (D.B., 217 [1086]).

Walton (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Were it not for the early forms of Walton with medial *e*, it would be natural to connect the name with O.E. *weall, wall* = a wall, rampart. The medial *e*, however, is not to be ignored, and the probability is that Walton goes back to O.E. *Wealatun* = the enclosure of the Welshmen. This connects Walton with Walworth (Surrey), which appears as *Wealawyrth* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 715, 896), and means "the abode of the Welshmen." Walah, the Old German form of O.E. *wealh, walh*, enters into the formation of a large number of place-names, *e.g.*, *Walahheim, Wallhausen*, in which the 'Welsh' are sometimes Celts, sometimes Italians. See Introduction, p. viii.

WALTON HEAD (par. Kirkby Overblow).

Waltone (D.B., 133, 222 [1086]).

Walton (K.I., 203 [1285–1316]).

Waltonheed (Y.F., ii., 110 [1577]).

See the preceding Waltons. The Domesday Book spelling here favours the derivation, "the enclosure by the wall or rampart" (Lat. *vallum*); but the interpretation, "the enclosure of the Welshmen," is also possible.

WARLEY.

Werlafeslei (D.B., 13 [1086]).

Adam de Werloweley (W.C.R., i., 80, 94 [1274]).

Warlowby (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Warley (V.E., 70 [1535]).

The Domesday Book spelling of this name makes it clear that the O.E. form of Warley was *Wærlafesleah* = the meadow of Wærlaf. The O.E. personal name Wærlaf is found in the charters of Kemble and Birch, where also we meet with the place-name *Wærlafesdun* (Worcestershire). Warlaby in the East Riding, which is spelt *Warlauesbi* and *Werlegesbi* in Domesday Book is probably the same name.

WARMFIELD.

Warnesfeld (D.B., 39, 217 [1086]).

Warnefeld (C.P.R., i., 6 (1198]).

Warnefeld (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Warmefeld (V.E., 74 [1535]).

With the spelling *Warnefeld*, for Warmfield, we may compare *Wærnanhyll* (= Warnhill, Berks.) of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1212). The change from *n* to *m* in Warmfield is caused by the following *f*. *Wærnan* is the genitive case of the personal name Wærna, a contracted form of the O.E. name Wærnoth, so that Warmfield probably means "the field of Wærnoth" (*Wærnothesfeld*).

WARMSWORTH.

Nich. de Wermundesworth (R.A.G., 13 [1267]).

Nich. de Wermesworth (R.A.G., 75 [1267]).

Wermesworth (K.I., 359 [1285–1316]).

Warmesworth (V.E., 7 [1535]).

Wermesford, Wemesford (D.B., 67, 127, 213 [1086]).

It is obvious from the forms given above that Warmsworth goes back to O.E. *Wærmundeswurth*, which means "the abode of Wærmund." The same contraction appears in Warmstree (Wilts.), which is spelt *Wærmundestreow* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 387, 641), whereas in Warmundsham (Sussex) the name has remained, at least as far as the spelling is concerned, uncontracted. Wærmund is a common O.E. personal name, and appears in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*.

WATH-UPON-DEARNE.

Wade, Wate, Wat (D.B., 119, 186, 213 [1086]).

Wath (C.C.R., ii., 182 [1272]).

Wath (K.I., 1, 7, 230 [1285–1316]).

Wath-upon-Dearne, so called to distinguish it from other places named Wath, in Yorkshire, takes its name from the O.N. word *vath* = a ford.

WEARDLEY.

Wyveresdesley, Wyberdelay, Wardelay (K.I., 41, 42, 209 [1285–1316]).

Wyrdelay, Wirdelay (C.B.K., 350 [n.d.]).

Werdelay (P.T. [1379]).

Wartle, Warda' (D.B., 183, 204, 210 [1086]).

There is a perplexing variation in the early spellings of this name. The Domesday Book forms throw no light, and I am disposed to regard the *Wyveresdesley* of the Knights' Fees as a mistake for *Wyverdesley*. This would connect Weardley with the unidentified *Wigferthesleah* and *Wiferthes mædua* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 1123, 1147, 570), in which the first element is the O.E. personal name Wigfrith, Wigferth, or Wiferth, which is commonly met with in O.E. records. Weardley may accordingly mean "the lea of Wigfrith or Wigferth."

WEETON.

Widetun, Widitun, Widetone (D.B., 28, 183, 188, 222 [1086]).

Withetun, Wiethton, Witthun, Wieton, Witon (C.B.K., 20, 86, 93 [1198]).

Witheton (K.I., 206, 295 [1285–1316]).

Weton (P.T. [1379]).

It is obvious that *Withetun* is the early Middle English spelling of this name. The first element may be O.E. *withig* = withy, willow, which enters into the formation of a number of English place-names ; *cf. Withigbroc, Withibroc, Withigford, Withiggraf, Withigmæd* in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 641, 118, 597, 1006, 516). Thus derived, the meaning of Weeton is " the encloure by the willow." But the first element may be O.N. *víthr* (weak form, *vítha*) = wide, giving us " the wide enclosure " as the meaning of Weeton.

WENTWORTH.

Winteuuord, Winteuuorde, Wintreuuorde (D.B., 119, 213 [1086]).

Wynteworth (C.C.R., i., 463 [1257]).

Wynteworth, Wyntworth (K.I., 7, 10, 365 [1285–1316]).

Wenteworth, Wentworthe (V.E., 44, 55 [1535]).

It is improbable that any importance should be attached to the form *Wintreuuorde* of Domesday Book, and the true M.E. forms seem to have been *Winteworth, Wynteworth*, and *Wenteworth*. Moreover, Wentworth in Cambridgeshire appears in D.B. as *Winteworde*, and there can be little doubt that the two Wentworths are identical in origin. Professor Skeat derives the Cambridgeshire Wentworth from O.E. *Wintanwurth*, and connects the name with Winta, who appears as the son of Woden in an Anglo-Saxon royal genealogy (see Sweet, *Old English Texts*, p. 171). This may be so, but it looks very much as though this Winta was, like the Efrauc of York, an eponymous hero, who takes his name from the seat of the Wessex royal family—*Wintanceaster* or Winchester. Much may be said for a Celtic origin of the name *Went, Wint*, or *Winta* in *Wintanceaster* and *Wintanwurth ; cf.* the river-name Wente or Went, a tributary of the Don.

WESTBY (par. Gisburn).

Westby (Y.I., i., 70 [1259]).

Westby (K.I., 18, 199 [1285–1316]).

The meaning of the name is obvious—" the western farm," or " the western village." The first element may be either O.N. *vestr* or O.E. *west*.

WESTON.

Westone (D.B., 95, 222 [1086]).

Rad. de Westone (C.C., 46 [1230]).

Weston (K.I., 44, 204 [1285–1316]).

The O.E. form would be *Westtun* = the western enclosure.

WESTWICK par. Ripon).

Westuuic, Westuic (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Westwyc (Y.I., i., 149 [1274]).

Westwick, Westwik, Westwyk (K.I., 212, 331, 387 [1285–1316]).

The meaning is "the western village"—O.E. *Westwic*.

WETHERBY.

Wedrebi (D.B., 134, 173 [1086]).

Wetherby, Wytherby, Wederby (K.I., 203, 294, 349 [1285–1316]).

Wethirby (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in Wetherby is probably either O.N. *vethr* or O.E. *wether* = a wether sheep, ram. The meaning would accordingly be "the sheep farm," "the ram farm."

WHEATLEY (par. Doncaster).

Watelag, Watelage (D.B., 69, 70, 214 [1086]).

Whetelagh (C.C.R., ii., 233 [1280]).

Whetele (C.C.R., iii., 17 [1301]).

Wheteley (V.E., 46 [1535]).

The name Wheatley evidently goes back to O.E. *Hwætelcah*, in which the first element is O.E. *hwéte* = wheat. The meaning of Wheatley is accordingly "the wheat meadow"; *cf.* Wheatley (Worcs.), which is spelt *Hwætaleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 118).

WHELDALE.

Queldale, Weldale (D.B., 105, 215 [1086]).

Ad Queldalam (P.C., 18 [c. 1090]).

Nich. de Queldale (P.C., 226 [1240]).

Queldale (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Wheldale, Welledale (Y.I., i., 30 [1252]).

In the modern Wheldale, as compared with the older *Queldale*, we see *wh* taking the place of older *qu* or *cw*; on this change, see

Wright's *Dialect Grammar*, § 241. The first element in Wheldale may be connected with O.E. *cwellan* = to slay, kill, so that the meaning of Wheldale may be "the valley of slaughter." See Whixley.

WHISTON.

Witestan, Widestan, Widestha' (D.B., 127, 128, 214 [1086]).

Wythstan (R.A.G., 30 [1270]).

Whistan, Wytstan, Wystan, Westam' (K.I., 6, 12, 230, 358 [1285–1316]).

Whistan (P.T. [1379]).

The early spellings of Whiston vary considerably and make the etymological investigation of the name somewhat difficult. The name may mean "the white stone" or "the wide stone." If the former rendering is correct, Whiston goes back to O.E. *Hwitanstan*, or *æt thém hwítan stáne* = at the white stone; *cf. Hwitanstan* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 431). But the form *Widestan* in D.B., and *Wythstan* in Archbishop Giffard's Register seem to indicate that the first element is O.N. *víthr* or O.E. *wíd* = wide; and the fact that the *Wydecumb* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 375) has become Whitcombe (Dorset) shows that a substitution of 'white' for 'wide' is a possibility.

WHITGIFT.

Witegift, Wykegift (C.B.S., i., 6, 11, 13, 15 [1154]).

Whitegift (C.C.R., i., 152 [1232]).

Whitegift (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Whitgyft (P.T. [1379]).

The apparent derivation of Whitgift is from O.E. *hwít* = white and O.E. *gift* or O.N. *gipt*, *gift* = gift, dowry. This may seem fanciful, but fancifulness is permissible in the case of a termination so rare as *-gift*. In support of this derivation, reference may be made to the O.N. word *giptarjörth* = a dowry farm. The name Whitgift may therefore commemorate the fact that some Anglian or Scandinavian suitor presented his bride with a whitewashed cottage or a cottage of white stone, which was henceforth called "the white gift," or "the white dower-house."

WHITLEY (par. Kirkheaton).

Witelaia, Witelei (D.B., 113, 217 [1086]).

Wyttelegh (C.C.R., i., 314 [1247]).

Wytelay (Y.I., i., 206 [1280]).

Whiteley, Whytelay (K.I., 229, 292, 352 [1285–1316]).

It is probable that Whitley goes back to O.E. *Hwitanleah*, or, more exactly, *on thém hwítan léage* = the white meadow, in the white meadow ; *cf.* Whitley (Warwick), which appears as *Hwitanleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (570, 705).

WHITWOOD.

Witeuude, Witewde (D.B., 101, 111, 217 [1086]).

Witewde (P.C., 18 [c. 1090]).

Whytewode (C.C.R., iii., 23 [1301]).

Whitewood (K.I., 352 [1285–1316]).

Whitwood probably goes back to O.E. *Hwitanwudu*, *on thém hwítan wuda* = the white wood, in the white wood. A wood of silver birch trees might well receive such a name.

WHIXLEY.

Quixeley (C.C.R., ii., 356 [1290]).

Quixley, Quyxley (K.I., 46, 206, 296 [1285–1316]).

Whixley (V.E., 255 [1535]).

Crucheslaga, Cucheslage, Cuselade (D.B., 134, 177, 220 [1086]).

For the change from *qu* or *cw* to *hw*, *wh*, see under Wheldale. The spelling *Crucheslage* of Domesday Book is without support, and the probability is that Quixley has developed from O.E. *Cwiccesleah* = the meadow of Cwic. Cwichelm, Cwicheard, or Cwicweald.

WIBSEY (par. Bradford).

Wibetese (D.B., 114, 116 [1086]).

.Wibbeseye (C.C.R., iii., 181 [1311]).

Wybecye (C.C.R., ii., 268 [1283]).

Wibse (Y.F., i., 75 [1536]).

This is a difficult name, but much can be said in favour of deriving it from an original *Wigbeorhteseg* = the water meadow of Wigbeorht. The personal name Wigbeorht is frequently met with in O.E. records, and appears in the weakened form *Wibert*, *Wibertus*, in Domesday Book ; the change from *Wibertesie* to the *Wibetese* of Domesday Book, and thence to *Wibesceye* and Wibsey, presents no phonological difficulty.

WICKERSLEY.

Wincreslei, Wicresleia (D.B., 117, 212 [1086]).

Wikersleg' (C.C.R., i., 146 [1232]).

Wykerslegh, Wykersley, Wykerslay, Wikerley (K.I., 6, 10, 232, 283 [1285–1316]).

Domesday Book presents two forms of this name—*Wincreslei* and *Wicresleia*, and though the latter may be derived from the former through the dropping of the *n* (*cf.* Wigglesworth), it is possible that they are independent names, corresponding to O.E. *Wincheresleah* and *Wigheardesleah* respectively. The name Winchere is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, but it is a possible O.E. personal name, and the formative element *Winc-* appears in the name Wincthryth of the Durham *Liber Vitae* and in the *Wincwin* and *Winchart* of Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. The name *Wichardus*, for O.E. *Wigheard*, occurs in Domesday Book. The meaning of Wickersley may therefore be (1) "the meadow or clearing of Winchere," or (2) "the meadow or clearing of Wigheard."

WIGGLESWORTH.

Winchelesuurde, Winchelesuuorde, Wiclesforde (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Wikelsworth, Wiklesworth, Wykelesworth (K.I., 21, 199, 355 [1285–1316]).

Wyglesworth (P.T. [1379]).

The form *Winchelesuuorde* of Domesday Book seems to point back to *Winchelmeswurth*, as the O.E. form of Wigglesworth. The personal name Winchelm occurs only in a spurious charter of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 73), but it is a possible O.E. name and may be compared with the *Wincthryth* of the Durham *Liber Vitae* and the *Wincwin* and *Winchart* of Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. The meaning is accordingly "the enclosure or dwelling-place of Winchelm."

WIGHILL.

Wicheles duae (D.B., 156, 219 [1086]).

Wichale, Withchale, Wyhale (R.A.G., 29, 35, 73 [1269]).

Wychall, Wighale, Wyghale, Whihale (K.I., 26, 222, 291, 343 [1285–1316]).

Wyghall (P.T. [1379]).

Wighull (V.E., 3 [1535]).

Wighill (Y.F., i., 82 [1538]).

It is obvious that in this name the termination *hill* has replaced an earlier *hall* or *hale*, corresponding to O.E. *hall* = a hall, or O.E. *halh*, *healh* = a corner. The first part of the name is probably O.E. *wic* = a dwelling-place, village. Reading *Wichalh* as the original form of the name, the meaning would be "a dwelling-place or farm situated in a corner of a field"; *cf.* Wigley (Hampshire), which appears as *Wicleah* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1035).

WIGTON (par. Harewood).

Wicton (P.R., v., 52 [1159]).

Wykedon (C.C.R., i., 463 [1257]).

Wikdon, Wighdon, Wygdon, Wygeton (K.I., 42, 209, 348 [1285–1316]).

The first element here is probably O.E. *wíc* = a dwelling-place, farm, village. The termination may be either O.E. *dún* = a hill, or O.E. *tún* = an enclosure. The meaning is accordingly either "the farm-enclosure" or "the farm on a hill"; *cf.* *Wictun* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 570).

WIKE (par. Birstall).

Wich, Wiche (D.B., 115, 218 [1086]).

WIKE (par. Harewood).

Wic, Wich (D.B., 26, 211 [1086]).

Wyk (C.C.R., ii., 284 [1285]).

Wyk, Wyke (K.I., 39, 209, 348 [1285–1316]).

Wike corresponds to O.E. *wíc* = a dwelling-place, farm, village. The word is very frequently met with in English place-names; *cf.* Wigton, Wighill (above); also Wickham, Greenwich, Alnwick, etc.

WILSDEN.

Wilsedene (D.B., 29 [1086]).

Godfrey de Wylsindene (Y.I., i., 5 [1246]).

Wylseden (K.I., 361 [1285–1316]).

Wylsden (Y.F., ii., 16 [1572]).

Wilsill and Wilstrop in the West Riding, Wilsthorpe in the East Riding, Wilsthorpe in Lincolnshire, and Wilsford in Wilts., all owe their names to the O.E. personal name Wifel, or to its cognate O.N. form Vifill. It is possible that Wilsden is similar in origin to these, and goes back to O.E. *Wifelsdenu* = the valley of Wifel. But it is also possible that the first element is the O.E. personal name Wilsige, mentioned in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, and elsewhere in O.E. records. This would give us "the valley of Wilsige" as the meaning of Wilsden.

WILSICK (par. Tickhill).

Wilseuuice, Wiseleuuinc (D.B., 127, 205 [1086]).

Willesike (C.C.R., ii., 235 [1280]).

Wilsik, Wylsyck (K.I., 233, 283 [1285–1316]).

See Wilsden, Wilsill, and Wilstrop. The meaning of the name is either "the dwelling-place (O.E. *wîc*) of Wifel," or "the dwelling-place of Wilsige."

WILSILL.

Wifleshale, Wiueshale (D.B., 41, 223 [1086]).

Thos. Willisell (Wills in York Registry, 283 [1627]).

It is clear that in Wilsill the first element is the O.E. personal name Wifel, or the cognate O.N. Vifill. This name is a common one both in English and Scandinavian place-names, examples of its use being Wivelhurst, Wiveliscomb, Wivelsfield, and Wilsford (K.C.D., *Wifelesford*) in England, and Vivelstad, Viulstad, in Norway. The termination in Wilsill is apparently O.E. *halh*, *healh* = a corner, so that the meaning of Wilsill is "Wifel or Vifill's corner." The personal name *Wifle* appears as that of a Yorkshire landholder in Domesday Book. Like many other personal names, it is properly a nick-name, and means "a weevil, beetle."

WILSTROP (par. Kirk Hammerton).

Wiulestorp, Wilestorp (D.B., 176, 219 [1086]).

Ulfchetell de Wifelstorp (P.R., ix., 44 [1166]).

Wyvelesthorp, Wyvelthorp, Wylesthorp, Wilsthorp (K.I., 27. 221, 289, 290, 342 [1285–1316]).

See Wilsill. The first element is obviously O.N. Vifill or O.E. Wifel, and the meaning of Wilstrop is "the village—O.E. and O.N. *thorp*—of Vifill or Wifel."

WINKSLEY (par. Ripon).

Winchingeslei, Wincheslaie (D.B., 182, 221 [1086]).

Wynkesley, Wykersley (K.I., 204, 294 [1285-1310]).

Wynkeslay (R.C.A., 130 [1468]).

See Wickersley and Wigglesworth. The form *Winchingeslei* in Domesday Book indicates that Winksley is "the lea or meadow of a man called Wincing," which may be a complete name in itself (*cf.* the personal name Winching in Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*) or a contracted form of some such name as Winchelming, Wincwining, *i.e.*, the son of Winchelm or Wincwine. As already stated under Wigglesworth, the name Winchelm is found only in a spurious charter, but Wincwine, Wincheard, and Wincthryth are accredited Teutonic names, while the simple form Winc appears in the *Winces burug* of Kemble's *Codex* (No. 502).

WINTERBURN

Witreburne (D.B., 196 [1086]).

Wyntreburn (C.C.R., ii., 255 [1281]).

Winterburn (K.I., 196 [1285–1316]).

With the Yorkshire Winterburn may be compared Winterborne (Wilts.) and Winterbourne (Glos.), which appear as *Winterburne* in the charters of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 269, 134). The name is probably formed out of O.E. *winter* = winter, and O.E. *burne* = a burn, stream, the idea being that of a stream which is more or less full in winter and dry in summer. But it is also possible that the original form was *Wintranburne*, *i.e.*, the stream of a man called Wintra—a name found in the charters of Kemble and Birch.

WINTERSET (par. Wragby).

Wyntressete (C.C.R., ii., 234 [1280]).

Wynterset (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Winterset may be "a winter seat," but the spelling *Wyntressete* with the double *s* makes it more likely that the meaning is "the seat or dwelling-place of a man called Winter"; *cf. Wintres dæn* (= Winter's valley) and *Wintres hlǽw* (= Winter's hill) in Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 1091 and 1133). The termination is O.E. *sæt* = a seat, camp.

WISTOW.

John de Wykestowe (Y.I., ii., 80 [1288]).

John de Wyxtowe (Y.I., ii., 57 [1287]).

John de Wistowe (Y.I., ii., 145 [1292]).

Wistowe, Wystowe (K.I., 345, 399, 438 [1285–1316]).

Light is thrown upon the derivation of the name by comparing it with Wistow (Leics.), which is spelt *Wistanestou* in Domesday Book, and which obviously goes back to O.E. *Wigstanes-stow* = the dwelling-place of a man called Wigstan. The name Wigstan or Wistan occurs in the *Battle of Maldon* lay (A.D. 991) and in several O.E. charters.

WITHGILL.

Wyhekul (Y.I., i., 48 [1258]).

Wythekill (K.I., 17 [1285–1316]).

Withgill is the name of a farm-house, or a cluster of farm-houses, in the parish of Mitton, on the Lancashire border, and early spellings

of the name are hard to find. The termination may be O.N. *gil* = a gill, gorge, or M.E. *kil*, O.N. *keldu* = a spring; while the first part of the name may be O.N. *víthr* = wide, or O.E. *withig* = a withy, willow. I incline to the view that the name means "the spring by the willow tree."

WOMBWELL.

Wambewell, Wombewell, Wamwell (K.I., 7, 8, 10, 230 [1285–1316]).

Wombewell (P.T. [1379]).

Wanbuelle, Wanbelle (D.B., 119, 156, 186, 213 [1086]).

The O.E. form of Wombwell was probably *Wambanwelle* = the well or spring of Wamba. Wamba is the name of a seventh-century Visigothic king of Spain, and, though not found by Searle in any O.E. documents, it is fairly frequently met with in Old German records; see Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. Every reader of Scott will remember that it is the name of the jester in *Ivanhoe*.

WOMERSLEY.

Wilmereslege, Wlmeresleia (D.B., 104, 215 [1086]).

Wilmeresley (Y.I., ii., 52 [1286]).

Wilmerslay (P.T. [1379]).

Wymersley (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Womersley (Y.F., iii., 14 [1583]).

The O.E. form of Womersley may have been one of two things: (1) *Wilmæresleah* = the lea or meadow of a man called *Wilmær*. (2) *Wulfmæresleah* = the lea of Wulfmær. The former derivation keeps nearest to the M.E. spellings of Womersley, but the objection to it is that there is no record of it in O.E. documents, though it occurs frequently in Old German records (see Förstemann, 'Willimar'). Wulfmær, on the other hand, is a common O.E. personal name. Wlmær occurs as a Yorkshire landholder's name in Domesday Book, but it is impossible to say whether this goes back to Wilmær or Wulfmær.

WOODHOUSE (par. Leeds).

Rob. de Wudehus (Y.I., i., 55 [1258]).

Wodehos (C.C.R., i., 405 [1252]).

Wodehous (K.I., 15 [1285–1316]).

The meaning is either "the house built of wood," or "the house in the wood." The O.E. form would be *Wuduhus*.

WOOLDALE (par. Kirkburton).

Uluedel (D.B., 217 [1086]).

Wluedale (P.C., 371 [1248]).

Alcok de Wlvedale (W.C.R., i., 98 [1274]).

Wooldale, like the next name, Woolley, and like many other similar names in various parts of England, owes its name to the packs of wolves which once ravaged the country. The name goes back to O.E. *Wulfadæl* or O.N. *Ulfadalr* = the wolves' dale.

WOOLLEY.

Wulvelay (C.C. [1260]).

Wolfelay (K.I., 364 [1285–1316]).

Wollay (P.T. [1379]).

Wiluelai (D.B., 12 [1086]).

See Wooldale. The O.E. form of Woolley would be *Wulfaleah* = the wolves' meadow; *cf.* the *Wulfaleah* and *Wulfamere* of Kemble's *Codex* (Nos. 1134, 324).

WORRALL.

Wihala, Wihale (D.B., 121, 215 [1086]).

Worrall alias Wyrrall (Y.F., i., 266 [1562]).

The Domesday Book spellings of this name have apparently lost a medial *r*, and the probability is that Worrall is identical in origin with the Cheshire Wirral, which appears as '*on Wirhalum*' in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1298). The first element is probably O.E. *wir* = a myrtle-tree, which is also found in the compound *wirgréf* = a myrtle grove. The termination is probably O.E. *halh* = a corner, and the meaning of the whole would accordingly be "a corner of land with myrtle-trees growing upon it."

WORSBOROUGH.

Wircesburg (D.B., 108, 216 [1086]).

Wyrkesburc (C.C.R., i., 342 [1249]).

Wyrkesburgh (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

Worseburgh (V.E., 55 [1535]).

The first element in this name is identical with that of an unidentified *Wyrcesuurth* in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 1043), with Worsall in the North Riding (D.B. *Wercheshala*), Worksop (D.B. *Werchesope*), and with Wortley in the parish of Leeds (*q.v.*). Names like Workington in Cumberland, and Warkton (D.B. *Warkinton*) in Northants., with the patronymic termination *-ing*, make it clear that we have to do with a personal name Weorc, Wiorc or Wyrc. But although the name

appears in the place-names of several northern and midland counties, it is not recorded by Searle in his *Onomasticon*. The root of the name is doubtless the same as that in O.E. *weorc* = a work, and *wiercan* = to work, and we may interpret Worsborough as "the fortified place or manor-house (O.E. *burh*) of a man called Weorc or Wyrc." It occurs frequently both as the first and second theme of Old German personal names, *e.g.*, Werchari, Friduwerc, Hildiwerc, Siwerc, etc.; see Förstemann, *sub* 'Verc.'

WORTLEY (par. Leeds).

Adam de Wirkeleia (C.B.K., 184 *n.* [1189]).

Will. de Wirkelay (C.C., 4 [temp. Hen. III.]).

Wirkelay, Wirkeley, Wyrkeley (K.I., 30, 224, 279, 360 [1285–1316]).

Wortley (C.B. map [1789]).

It is evident from the early spellings of the names that the two West-Riding Wortleys are of different origin. Wortley in the parish of Leeds probably takes its origin from an O.E. personal name Weorca or Wyrca, the weak form of the name Weorc or Wyrc, which is found in Worsborough (*q.v.*), Worksop, etc. The meaning of Wortley is accordingly "the meadow of Weorca or Wyrca." The change from Wirkley or Workley to Wortley is recent, and the older form may still be heard in Wortley.

WORTLEY (par. Tankersley).

Wirtleie, Wirlei, Wrleia (D.B., 70, 193, 216 [1086]).

Wortelai, Wrtlay, Wrelai (K.I., 230, 281, 364 [1285–1316]).

Wortelay (P.T. [1379]).

Wortley in the parish of Tankersley apparently goes back to an O.E. form *Wyrtleah*, in which the constituent elements are O.E. *wyrt* = a plant, herb, vegetable, and O.E. *léah* = a meadow. The meaning is accordingly "the herb meadow"; *cf. Wyrtden* (= the herb valley) in Kemble's *Codex* (No. 997), and the O.E. compounds *wyrtgeard* = a kitchen garden, and *wyrttun* = a garden.

WOTHERSOME (par. Bardsey.)

Wodehusu', Wodehuse (D.B., 26, 210 [1086]).

Wudehusum (C.C.R., i., 149 [1310]).

Wodhusom, Wodhouse, Woodeshom (K.I., 38, 209, 287 [1285–1316]).

Wodersom (V.E., 74 [1535]).

Wothersome (Y.F., ii., 121 [1578]).

Wothersome is to all appearances a curious corruption of O.E. *Wuduhusum*, which means "at the wooden houses," or "at the houses in the wood," *cf. Woodhouse.*

WRANGBROOK (par. South Kirkby.)

Roger de Wrangebroc (C.B.K., 52 [circ. 1153]).

Wrangbrok (A.G.R., 35 [1230]).

Wrangbroke (V.E., 70 [1535]).

Wrankewrok (K.I., 363 [1285–1316]).

The form *Wrankewroc* is misleading, but the other spellings of Wrangbrook which appear above make it clear that the name is formed out of O.E. *wrang* = twisted, crooked, perverse, wrong, and O.E. *bróc* = a brook. The name might well be given to a brook the course of which was twisted or winding; *cf.* Wrangthorn in the parish of Leeds, which means the "twisted thorn-tree," and *Wrangebek* in Denmark.

YEADON.

Iadun, Iadon (D.B., 26, 204, 211 [1086]).

Waldief de Iadon (P.R., xi., 84 [1167]).

Wallief de Jadona (P.R., ix., 46 [1166]).

Wald' de Iaddon (P.R., xxii., 177 [1175]).

Yedon, Yhedon (K.I., 32, 207, 286 [1285–1316]).

Yedon (P.T. [1379]).

The first element in this name is probably the rare O.E. adjective *geah* = steep, which is cognate with Mod. Germ. *jäh*, O.H.G. *gâhi*. In K.C.D., 570, the adjective *geah* appears in the phrase *on geahes ofer*, where it is probably a personal name. The meaning of Yeadon is accordingly "the steep hill."

APPENDIX.

(By Mr. C. J. Battersby, M.A., of Sheffield.)

[In the body of this work I have followed the directions of Mr. R. H. Skaife, the editor of *Kirkby's Inquest*, and identified the Domesday Book form *Badresbi* with the modern Battrix. Mr. C. J. Battersby has convinced me that the two names are not identical, but represent two places, Battersby and Battrix. His elucidation of the problem was so full and scholarly that I expressed a wish that it should form an Appendix to this volume. Mr. Battersby kindly gave his consent to this proposal, and his investigation of the two names is recorded below.—F. W. M.]

BATTERSBY.

Badresbi (D.B., 198 [1086]).

Batersby (K.I., 16 [1285–1316]).

Ricardus de Bathersby (Nomina Villarum, Surtees, vol. 49 [1315–1316]).

Roger de Bathersby (P.T. [1379]).

Ricardus de Bathersby (P.T. [1379]),

Battersbye (Yorks. Record Series, vol. ii., p. 22 [1572]).

Nicholas Battersbie of Battersbie in the honour of Pontefract (Yorks. Record Series, vol. xxii., p. 151 [1592]).

Baterby (in a map in Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* [1723]).

The above references demonstrate that the West Riding hamlet of Battersby, though now extinct, had a recorded existence of seven centuries. It is not to be identified with the modern Battrix, as has been done by Mr. Skaife in his well-known edition of Kirkby's *Inquest*. A comparison of the dates attached to the early spellings of Battersby and Battrix will satisfy the reader that for several centuries the two places existed separately and contemporaneously.

The prefix in Battersby is undoubtedly the genitive case of the O.N. personal name Böthvarr, which occurs frequently in the *Landnáma-bók*. The vowel of the first syllable was originally *a*, and at the time when the name was introduced into England that vowel had not yet suffered *u*-mutation and become *ö*. Moreover, the dental at the end of the first syllable was in earlier days not *th* but *d*, as in the O.E. cognate, *beadu*, battle. To this let us add that O.N. *v* was pronounced like modern English *w*, and we shall see that *Badwarr* would be an adequate representation of the name at the date of its first advent to these shores. A medial *w* following a consonant is easily lost, as, for example, in O.N. *Haraldr* and *Arnaldr*

from *Harvaldr* and *Arnvaldr*, in *Edinburgh* from *Eadwines-burh*, and in our present pronunciation of *Southwark* and *Southwell*. Thus the native form of this place-name would by the date of the Conquest be *Badarsbi*, or even *Badersbi*, which in Domesday becomes *Badresbi*, just as *Martherby* becomes *Martrebi* in the same record. So, then, the earliest form of Battersby would be *Badwarsbýr*, "the farm of Badwarr, or Böthvarr."

This place-name occurs in the North Riding also. In this instance the spellings from the time of Domesday to the present exhibit the same changes as the West Riding form. In the *Liber Vitae* of Durham is found the personal name Bodawar, showing by the vowel of the first syllable that it stands for the later Böthvarr, not the older Badwarr, and at the same time furnishing incontestable proof that this O.N. personal name was once borne by a man resident in the North of England.

BATTRIX.

Bathirarghes (Whitaker's *Whalley*, vol. i., p. 329 [1342]).

Batterax (Ibid., vol. i., p. 284 [1493–4]).

Grand Battirge (Ibid., vol. i, p. 331 [1577]).

Batterise (Nicholas Assheton's *Journal*, Chetham Soc. [1617]).

Batterax (Langdale's Gazetteer [1822]).

Battrix, Modern Ordnance.

This place in the neighbourhood of Slaidburn is not identical with Battersby, though close to the site of that extinct hamlet. The prefix is the same in both words. It is the name of some Scandinavian settler, Böthvarr, or, in a more ancient form, Badwarr.

The question, however, that most concerns us at present is the meaning to be attributed to the suffix *-arghes*, which appears so clearly in the oldest known spelling of this place-name, *Bathirarghes*. *Arghes* is a plural form, presupposing a singular *argh ;* and that in turn is a M.E. spelling of an earlier *erg*, with the familiar substitution of *ar* for *er*. Several place-names in the North of England exhibit this *erg*, or its variant *arg*, as the following lists will sufficiently prove.

In the nominative, or perhaps the dative, singular it occurs in Goosnargh (Lancs.), D.B. *Gusansarghe ;* Grimsargh (Lancs.), D.B. *Grimesarge ;* Manzergh (Westmor.), D.B. *Manzerge ;* Golcar (West Riding), D.B. *Gudlagesarc*.

In the nominative plural it occurs in Arras (East Riding), M.E. *Erghes* and *Herghes ;* Alderghes (East Riding), a M.E. form ; Colemanherghes (North Riding), a M.E. form.

In the dative plural it occurs in Arram (East Riding), D.B. *Argun ;* Argam (East Riding), D.B. *Ergone ;* Eryholme (North Riding), D.B. *Argun ;* Strazergh (West Riding), D.B. *Stratesergum*.

Some students would no doubt like to identify *erg* with the Old Northumbrian *herg*, corresponding to the O.E. *hearh*, temple, shrine, idol, sacred grove. But the invariable absence of the initial *h* in all modern forms is an insuperable obstacle. The compilers of Domesday and the Anglo-French-speaking clerks of Middle English times might well get their English aspirates wrong occasionally; but when we find that the modern spellings of the place-names now under discussion never once show an initial *h*, we cannot resist the conclusion that these spellings in their uncompromising sameness preserve the ancient form as handed down from generation to generation of plain country-folk who spoke nothing but English. If, then, we refuse to equate *erg* with O.E. *hearh*, how are we to explain the word? Two passages from the *Orkneyinga Saga* will throw very considerable light on the matter.

The first passage is to be found in § 448 of Vigfusson's edition in the Rolls Series. It is as follows: "Their fóru um kveldit upp um dalinn, ok tóku thar nokkur gistíng, sem var *erg* nökkut. That köllu vér setr." In English: "They fared at even up dale, and found night-quarters where there was a certain *erg*. We call it *setr*." Again, in § 458 we read: "Thá skildust their Thorbjörn frá fóruneyti jarls ok til authna-selja nokkura, theirra er heita *Asgríms-erg*." In English: "Then parted Thorbiorn and his men from the earl's retinue and went onward to some deserted huts which are called *Asgrims-erg*."

The places above-named are in Caithness, a district which the Scandinavian vikings had conquered from the Gaels. The events related happened in 1158. The word *erg* is manifestly some Gaelic word, and the Saga-man knew its equivalent in his own tongue, namely, *setr*. The meaning of *setr*, mountain pastures with huts on them, is well known, and so we arrive at the meaning of *erg*. When we try to identify *erg* with some Gaelic original of like signification, we find only one suitable word, *airidh*, which in Macleod and Dewar's *Gaelic Dictionary* is defined as "a shealing; hill pasture, or summer residence for herdsmen and cattle; a level green among the hills." This identification is sanctioned by Vigfusson, who in his Index to the *Orkneyinga Saga* writes as follows: "*Asgríms-erg*, sheds or shielings, Gaelic *airidh*, in Caithness."

From the above extracts it is clear that the Scandinavians in the North of Scotland had been well content to adopt the Gaelic *airidh*, converting it to *erg*, and actually combining it with the name of some Scandinavian land-holder to form a place-name. Not only in Caithness, but in Galloway and Argyllshire, in the Hebrides, in the Isle of Man, and in Ireland, this word *airidh* was freely used. In all these places Scandinavians settled, and worked the conquered land with Celtic thralls. When at a later date the descendants of these settlers raided the north-western coast of England, penetrated into Northumbria, and carved out little estates for themselves, they

brought their Celtic thralls with them. At the same time they brought the word *erg*, which still survives in many of our northern place-names, and bears witness to the fact that some of our Scandinavian ancestors were drawn from the Norwegians, who sailed down the west of Scotland, and were long in familiar contact with the Celtic race before they reached England.

So, then, *Bathirarghes*, the first recorded form of Battrix, means "the shielings of Badwarr, or Böthvarr," the Scandinavian settler who left a further memorial of himself in the name of the neighbouring hamlet of Battersby.

Note.—A friend kindly points out to me that Mr. G. Henderson, in his "Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland" (p. 164), says that the word given as *airidh* in the Gaelic Dictionaries is simply a mis-spelling of *airigh*, which, in turn, is derived from an Old Gaelic *aerg*. This being the case, the identity of the O.N. *erg* with its Gaelic original is rendered all the more obvious.

C. J. B.

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